

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

FOUNDED BY JAMES LOEB 1911

EDITED BY

JEFFREY HENDERSON

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

II

LCL 25

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

EPISTLE OF BARNABAS
PAPIAS AND QUADRATUS
EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS
THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
BART D. EHRMAN



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
LONDON, ENGLAND
2003

Copyright © 2003 by the President and Fellows
of Harvard College
All rights reserved

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY® is a registered trademark of
the President and Fellows of Harvard College

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 2002032744
CIP data available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 0-674-99608-9

CONTENTS

EPISTLE OF BARNABAS	1
PAPIAS AND QUADRATUS	85
EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS	121
THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS	161
INDEX OF BIBLICAL CITATIONS	475

EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

INTRODUCTION

The Epistle of Barnabas was a popular writing in some circles of early Christianity. Although anonymous, it came to be ascribed to the companion of the apostle Paul mentioned in Acts, and was treated as Scripture by church Fathers as early as Clement of Alexandria. It eventually came to be included among the writings of the New Testament (along with the *Shepherd* of Hermas) in one of the most important early New Testament manuscripts, Codex Sinaiticus.

The history of Jewish-Christian relations might have been quite different had the Epistle of Barnabas been finally admitted into the canon. Among all our earliest Christian writings it is the most virulently anti-Jewish in its message, arguing that it is Christians, not Jews, who are heirs of the covenantal promises made to the patriarchs of Israel, that the “Old Testament” (the Jewish Bible) is a Christian not a Jewish book, and that, as a result, the Jews have always adhered to a false religion.

Overview

The book appears to be a treatise placed in the framework of a letter (see chs. 1, 21). It clearly divides itself into two parts. The first (chs. 1–17) comprises a series of argu-

BARNABAS

ments designed to reveal the truths that pertain to salvation (1.5; 17.1) and to show, at the same time, that the Jews' (false) religion is rooted in a misunderstanding of their own Scriptures. Rather than spurning the Jewish Scriptures per se, however, the anonymous author embraces them, insisting that when the prophets of Scripture attack the people of Israel for their opposition to God, their words are to be taken as literal truth. Because Jews rebelled against God from the very beginning (4.6–8), this author claims, they were misled into thinking that scriptural laws concerning how to live and worship were to be taken literally. But these biblical laws concerning sacrificial rites, ritual practices, and sacred institutions, he avers, were meant to be taken figuratively, as indicative of the salvation to be brought to the world by Christ.

And so the author provides a “true” interpretation of key passages, informed by the special knowledge (gnosis) that he claims to have received from God (1.7; 5.3; 6.9–10; 9.9), in order to discount the Jews' understanding of significant aspects of their own religion: the covenant, fasting, sacrifices, circumcision, kosher food laws, Sabbath, the Temple, and so on. The Jews' misunderstanding, the author maintains, can be traced to the very beginning, when Moses received the Law of God on Mount Sinai. Learning that the people, who had just been delivered from their slavery in the land of Egypt, had already turned to worship foreign gods, Moses angrily smashed the two tablets containing the covenant given him by God. For this author, once the covenant was broken, it was never restored—until the coming of Christ and the formation of the true people of God, his followers (4.6–8; 14.1–5). The Jews, on the other hand, were excluded from their covenant and misled

INTRODUCTION

by an evil angel into thinking that they were members of God's covenantal community and that the laws they inherited were to be interpreted literally (9.4).

And so, the author claims, Jews failed to understand that true sacrifice was not about the slaughter of animals but about purity of heart, that fasting was not a matter of diet but of charity and justice, that kosher dietary laws were not about avoiding certain foods but about avoiding certain lifestyles, that Sabbath did not concern a day of leisure but the future "millennium" of rest that God would bring to his creation after 6000 years, and that the mark of circumcision was not about cutting the foreskin but about the cross of Jesus. And so on.

The second part of the epistle (chs. 18–20) presents a version of the "two paths" (or "two ways") teaching, similar in many respects, often with exact verbal parallels, to that found at the beginning of the *Didache* (see Introduction there). There is a general consensus among scholars that neither of these two books derived its teaching from the other, but that both took the teaching from a common source, now lost, probably originating as a Jewish set of ethical instructions later adopted by a Christian author and broadly disseminated early in the history of the church.

Sources and Author

For a good part of the twentieth century, scholars exploring the Epistle of Barnabas were preoccupied with the question of its sources, both for the concluding "two paths" section and, above all, for the scriptural interpretations and expositions of chapters 1–17 (see Prigent and Kraft).

BARNABAS

Because quotations of similar texts of Scripture were attested in similar ways in other Christian writings, it widely came to be thought that the author utilized a kind of “testimonia,” a published compilation of prooftexts demonstrating the superiority of Christianity from passages of the Jewish Scriptures. These prooftexts, whether from a solitary document or a number of available treatises, involved a wide range of polemical materials: texts opposing Jewish cultic practices, messianic predictions applied to Christ, midrashic-like traditions (i.e., explanatory expansions of the biblical texts), paraphrastic renditions of key passages, and the like.

More recently scholars have shifted their focus away from the sources available to the author to his own contribution in putting them together (Wengst, Paget, Hvalvik). Here the interest is on the overarching unity achieved by the author in his utilization of earlier materials and on his own role as a creative theologian.

Unfortunately, we do not know who this author was (as early as Eusebius, the book was considered “spurious”; *Eccl. Hist.* 3. 25). Few scholars imagine that it was Barnabas, the companion of Paul, since, from what we can tell, the historical Barnabas did not share this author’s view of Judaism (cf. Gal 2:13–14). Moreover, in the judgment of most scholars, Barnabas must have died long before this book was written (see Paget).

Date and Location

The broad parameters for the date of the book are clear: it mentions the destruction of the Jerusalem (Herodian) Temple (16.3–4), and so must have been writ-

INTRODUCTION

ten after 70 CE; and it assumes that the Temple was still in ruins, so that it must have been written before Hadrian constructed a new, Roman temple on the site, around 135.

Some scholars have thought that we can date the book still more precisely on the basis of 4.3–5, which cites a prophecy of Daniel to the effect that, after a sequence of ten kings, a new ruler will overthrow three of his predecessors all at once, possibly referring to one of the Roman emperors who inherited the throne by force (see Barnard, Paget). But the reference is problematic: as a quotation of Scripture, it may not refer to specific events in the author's setting (see Kraft, Wengst, and Hvalvik). More fruitful may be the reference to an expectation that the ruined Temple was soon to be rebuilt (16.3–4), as some have argued that the hopes for reconstruction were very much alive in some circles during the first decades of the second century, before the second Jewish revolt of 132–35 led Hadrian to ban Jews from Jerusalem, rename it Aelia Capitolina, and build a temple to Zeus-Jupiter on the site. And so, it may be best to date the book during Hadrian's reign, possibly near the time of the revolt, around 130 or so (Hvalvik and many others), although some have tried to date it earlier in Hadrian's reign, around 118–20 (Barnard), or even before, during the reign of emperor Nerva (96–99; thus Richardson and Shukster).

The book has traditionally been thought to have been written in Alexandria, Egypt. The figurative modes of interpretation used by the author are widely recognized as having their strongest parallels with Alexandrian exegetes, both Jewish and Christian (e.g., Philo and Origen); moreover, the book is first quoted there, by Clement of Alexandria, and is included in a New Testament manuscript with

BARNABAS

an “Alexandrian” form of text (Codex Sinaiticus). Some, however, have argued for other places of composition, including Asia Minor (Wengst) and, especially, Syro-Palestine, based on the author’s evident knowledge of traditional (rabbinic) Jewish traditions of interpretation and the book’s close connections to other literary works possibly penned there (Prigent).

Occasion of the Epistle

Some scholars have argued that anti-Jewish literature, such as that found here in Barnabas, is not rooted in social realities of the Christian authors so much as in the necessary outworkings of Christian self-definition; in this view, attacks on Jews are not made against real opponents, but instead represent Christians showing to themselves how they differ from the “other” (see Taylor).

Most scholars, however, maintain that some kind of real-life crisis motivated the epistle’s attack on the Jewish religion—e.g., a Jewish messianic movement in competition with the Christian proclamation that threatened to win over its converts (Lowy), or concerns that an imminent rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem might lead to a Jewish resurgence (Richardson and Shukster, Paget). It may be best, however, to see the occasion as real on the one hand but not so specific on the other, for instance, in the ongoing relations between Jews and Christians, as some members of the Christian community were being tempted to see that Judaism is a valid religion and that Jews really were people of the covenant (see Hvalvik). It may be that Christians who were adopting such views in this author’s community, whether in Alexandria or elsewhere, began

INTRODUCTION

questioning the validity of their own faith and were being tempted to convert to Judaism (it is clear that they were themselves Gentile: 3.6; 16.7). To deal with the problem, then, the author wrote a firm declaration that the Jewish religion is and always has been in error and that Jews have been misled by an evil angel to misinterpret their own Scriptures.

Manuscripts, Abbreviations, and Editions

In addition to Codex Sinaiticus, the epistle may be found in Codex Hierosolymitanus, discovered by Philotheos Byrennios (see Introduction to the *Didache*), which also contains the *Didache*, 1 and 2 Clement, and the longer form of the letters of Ignatius. The latter portion of the epistle is also found in nine defective manuscripts from the eleventh century onwards, which give Barnabas 5.7ff, without a break, immediately following Polycarp's Letter to the Philippians 1.1–9.2 (see Introduction there). In addition, there is a papyrus fragment of 9.1–6, a Latin version of chapters 1–17, minor Syriac fragments of verses from chapters 1, 19, and 20, and the quotations of Clement.

James Ussher was the first to produce a modern edition of the epistle (in Latin), but it was destroyed by a fire at Oxford in 1644, before it could be published. The *editio princeps* (Latin) was produced by Dom Hugo Ménard and published after his death by Luc d'Archery (Η ΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΗ ΤΟΥΤ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ. *Sancti Barnabae Apostoli [ut fertur] Epistola Catholica*. Paris, 1645).

The Greek text did not appear for over 200 years, when Constantine Tischendorf discovered and published an edi-

BARNABAS

tion of Codex Sinaiticus (1862). Philotheos Bryennios published a Greek text based on Codex Hierosolymitanus in 1875.

S	Codex Sinaiticus (4th c.)
S*	first corrector of Codex Sinaiticus (4th c.)
S**	second corrector of Codex Sinaiticus (7th c.)
H	Codex Hierosolymitanus (1056 CE)
G	the nine defective manuscripts of 5.7ff (11th c. and later)
P	Papyrus fragment of 9.1–6 (4–5th c.)
L	Latin version
Clem	Clement of Alexandria

Syriac fragments of Barnabas 1.1; 19.1–2, 8; 20.1 (about 49 words total; 6th c.)

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barnard, L. W. "The Date of the Epistle of Barnabas: A Document of Early Egyptian Christianity." *JEA* 44 (1958) 101–07.

——— "The Epistle of Barnabas and Its Contemporary Setting." *ANRW* II.27.1 (1993) 159–207.

Hvalvik, Reidar. *The Struggle for Scripture and Covenant: The Purpose of the Epistle of Barnabas and Jewish-Christian Competition in the Second Century*. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1996.

Kraft, Robert A. "An Unnoticed Papyrus Fragment of Barnabas." *VC* 21 (1967) 150–63.

——— *Barnabas and the Didache*. Vol. 3 of *The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary*, ed. R. M. Grant. New York: Thomas Nelson, 1965.

INTRODUCTION

- “Barnabas’ Isaiah Text and the ‘Testimony Book’ Hypothesis.” *JBL* 79 (1960) 336–50.
- and Pierre Prigent, *Épître de Barnabe*. SC 172. Paris: Cerf, 1971.
- Lowy, S. “The Confutation of Judaism in the Epistle of Barnabas.” *JJS* 11 (1960) 1–33.
- Paget, James Carleton. *The Epistle of Barnabas: Outlook and Background*. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1994.
- Prigent, Pierre. *Les Testimonia dans le christianisme primitif: L’épître de Barnabe I–XVI et ses sources*. Ébib. Paris: Gabalda, 1961.
- Prostmeier, Ferdinand R. *Der Barnabasbrief*. KAV, 8; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1999.
- Richardson, Peter, and Martin B. Shukster. “Barnabas, Nerva, and the Yavnean Rabbis.” *JTS* n.s. 34 (1983) 31–55.
- Taylor, Miriam S. *Anti-Judaism and Early Christian Identity: A Critique of the Scholarly Consensus*. SPB 46. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Tischendorf, Constantine von. *Biblorium Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*. Leipzig: Petropoli, 1862.
- Wengst, Klaus. *Tradition und Theologie des Barnabasbriefes*. *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte* 42. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1971.

ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ

1

Χαίρετε, υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντος ἡμᾶς, ἐν εἰρήνῃ. 2. μεγάλων μὲν ὄντων καὶ πλουσίων τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιωμάτων εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὑπὲρ τι καὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὑπερευφραίνομαι ἐπὶ τοῖς μακαρίοις καὶ ἐνδόξοις ὑμῶν πνεύμασιν· οὕτως¹ ἔμφυτον τῆς δωρεᾶς πνευματικῆς χάριν εἰλήφατε. 3. διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον συγχαίρω ἑμαυτῷ ἐλπίζων σωθῆναι, ὅτι ἀληθῶς βλέπω ἐν ὑμῖν ἐκκεχυμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου τῆς πηγῆς² κυρίου πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς. οὕτω με ἐξέπληξεν ἐπὶ ὑμῶν ἡ ἐμοὶ ἐπιποθήτη ὥψις ὑμῶν. 4. πεπεισμένος οὖν τοῦτο καὶ συνειδὼς ἑμαυτῷ, ὅτι ἐν ὑμῖν λαλήσας πολλὰ ἐπίσταμαι, ὅτι ἐμοὶ συνώδευσεν ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης κύριος, καὶ πάντως ἀναγκάζομαι καὶ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο, ἀγαπᾶν ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν μου, ὅτι μεγάλη πίστις καὶ ἀγάπη ἐγκατοικεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αὐτοῦ. 5. λογισάμενος οὖν τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐὰν μελήσῃ μοι περὶ ὑμῶν τοῦ μέρος τι μεταδοῦναι ἀφ' οὗ ἔλαβον, ὅτι ἔσται μοι τοιούτοις πνεύμασιν ὑπηρετήσαντι εἰς μισθόν, ἐσπούδασα κατὰ μικρὸν

EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

1

Greetings, sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord who loved us, in peace. 2. So great and abundant are the righteous acts of God toward you that I am exceedingly overjoyed, beyond measure, by your blessed and glorious spirits. For you have received such a measure of his grace planted within you, the spiritual gift! 3. And so I share your joy all the more within myself [*Or: I congratulate myself all the more*], hoping to be saved; for truly I see that, in your midst, the Spirit has been poured out upon you from the abundance of the Lord's fountain—so amazed have I been by the sight of your face, which I have so desired. 4. And so, since I have been persuaded about this and realize that I who have spoken to you know many things (since the Lord has traveled along with me in the path of righteousness), I have also felt fully compelled to love you more than my own soul. For a great faith and love dwell within you in the hope of his life. 5. I have thus come to realize that I will be rewarded for serving spirits like yours, if I care for you enough to hand over a portion of what I have received. I have hastened, then, to send you a brief letter, that you

¹ οὕτως L: ουτο S: οὗ τὸ H

² πηγῆς H L: ἀγάπης S

BARNABAS 2

ὑμῖν πέμπειν, ἵνα μετὰ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν τελείαν ἔχητε τὴν γνώσιν. 6. τρία οὖν δόγματά ἐστιν κυρίου ζωῆς³ ἐλπίς, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος πίστεως ἡμῶν⁴ καὶ δικαιοσύνη, κρίσεως ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος· ἀγάπη, εὐφροσύνης⁵ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεως ἔργων δικαιοσύνης⁶ μαρτυρία. 7. ἐγνώρισεν γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ δεσπότης διὰ τῶν προφητῶν τὰ παρεληλυθότα καὶ τὰ ἐνεστῶτα, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων δοὺς ἀπαρχὰς ἡμῖν γεύσεως. ὦν τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα βλέποντες ἐνεργούμενα, καθὼς ἐλάλησεν, ὀφείλομεν πλουσιώτερον καὶ ὑψηλότερον προσάγειν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ. 8. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ' ὡς εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν ὑποδείξω ὀλίγα, δι' ὧν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν εὐφρανθήσεσθε.

2

Ἡμερῶν οὖν οὐσῶν πονηρῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος ἔχοντος τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ὀφείλομεν ἑαυτοῖς προσέχοντες ἐκζητεῖν τὰ δικαιώματα κυρίου. 2. τῆς οὖν πίστεως ἡμῶν εἰσὶν βοηθοὶ φόβος καὶ ὑπομονή, τὰ δὲ συμμαχοῦντα ἡμῖν μακροθυμία καὶ ἐγκράτεια· 3. τούτων οὖν μενόντων τὰ πρὸς κύριον ἀγνώως, συνενφραίνονται αὐτοῖς σοφία, σύνεσις, ἐπιστήμη, γνώσις. 4. πεφανέρωκεν γὰρ ἡμῖν διὰ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν, ὅτι οὔτε θυσιῶν οὔτε ὀλοκαυτωμάτων⁷ οὔτε προσ-

³ ζωῆς HL: ζωή· S

⁴ ἐλπίς . . . ἡμῶν H: πίστις ἐλπίς· ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ἡμῶν S

BARNABAS 2

may have perfect knowledge to accompany your faith. 6. There are three firm teachings of the Lord of life: hope, which is the beginning and end of our faith; righteousness, which is the beginning and end of judgment; and love, which is a testament to our joy and gladness in upright deeds. 7. For through the prophets the Master has made known to us what has happened and what now is; and he has given us the first fruits of the taste of what is yet to be. And as we see that each and every thing has happened just as he indicated, we should make a more abundant and exalted offering in awe of him. 8. But I will show a few matters to you, not as a teacher but as one of your own; these will gladden your hearts in the present circumstances.

2

Since, then, the days are evil and the one who is at work holds sway,¹ we should commit ourselves to seeking out the righteous acts of the Lord. 2. Reverential awe and endurance assist our faith, and patience and self-restraint do battle on our side. 3. And so while these things remain in a holy state before the Lord, wisdom, understanding, perception, and knowledge rejoice together with them. 4. For through all the prophets he has shown us that he has no need of sacrifices, whole burnt offerings, or regular offer-

¹ I.e., the Devil.

⁵ εὐφροσύνη S

⁶ δικαιοσύνης cj. Bryennios: δικαιοσύνη H: ἐν δικαιοσύναις S

⁷ ὀλοκαυμάτων S: add κριῶν H L

BARNABAS 2

φορῶν χρήζει, λέγων ὅτε μέν· 5. τί μοι πλήθος τῶν θυσιῶν ὑμῶν; λέγει κύριος. πλήρης εἰμι ὀλοκαυτωμάτων, κριῶν, καὶ στέαρ ἀρνῶν καὶ αἷμα ταύρων καὶ τράγων οὐ βούλομαι, οὐδ' ἂν ἔρχησθε ὀφθῆναί μοι. τίς γὰρ ἐξεζήτησεν ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν; πατεῖν μου τὴν αὐλὴν οὐ προσθήσεσθε. ἐὰν⁸ φέρητε σεμίδαλιν, μάταιον· θυμίαμα βδέλυγμά μοί ἐστιν· τὰς νεομηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σάββατα οὐκ ἀνέχομαι. 6. ταῦτα οὖν κατήργησεν, ἵνα ὁ καινὸς νόμος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἄνευ ζυγοῦ ἀνάγκης ὦν, μὴ ἀνθρωποποίητον ἔχῃ τὴν προσφοράν. 7. λέγει δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτοὺς· μὴ ἐγὼ ἐνετειλάμην τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν ἐκπορευομένοις ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, προσενέγκαί μοι ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ θυσίας; 8. ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦτο ἐνετειλάμην αὐτοῖς· ἕκαστος ὑμῶν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐαυτοῦ κακίαν μὴ μνησικακείτω, καὶ ὅρκον ψευδῇ μὴ ἀγαπᾷτε. 9. αἰσθάνεσθαι οὖν ὀφείλομεν, μὴ ὄντες ἀσύνετοι, τὴν γνώμην τῆς ἀγαθωσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἡμῖν λέγει, θέλων ἡμᾶς μὴ ὁμοίως πλανωμένους ἐκείνοις ζητεῖν, πῶς προσάγωμεν αὐτῷ. 10. ἡμῖν οὖν οὕτως λέγει· θυσία τῷ κυρίῳ καρδία συντετριμμένη, ὁσμὴ εὐωδίας τῷ κυρίῳ καρδία δοξάζουσα τὸν πεπλακότα αὐτήν. ἀκριβεύεσθαι οὖν ὀφείλομεν, ἀδελφοί, περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ πονηρὸς παρείσδυσιν πλάνης ποιήσας ἐν ἡμῖν ἐκσφενδονήσῃ ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν.

ings. For he says in one place, 5. "What is the multitude of your sacrifices to me? says the Lord. I am sated with whole burnt offerings, and have no desire for the fat of lambs, the blood of bulls and goats—not even if you should come to appear before me. For who sought these things from your hands? Trample my court no longer. If you bring fine flour, it is futile; incense is loathsome to me. I cannot stand your new moons and sabbaths."² 6. And so he nullified these things that the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is without the yoke of compulsion, should provide an offering not made by humans. 7. And again he says to them, "Did I command your fathers who came out from the land of Egypt to offer whole burnt offerings and sacrifices to me?"³ 8. "No, this is what I commanded them: Let none of you bear a grudge against your neighbor in your heart, and do not love a false oath."⁴ 9. And so, since we are not ignorant, we should perceive the good intention of our Father. For he is speaking to us, wanting us to seek how to make an offering to him without being deceived like them. 10. And so he says to us: "A sacrifice to the Lord is a crushed heart; a sweet fragrance to the Lord is a heart that glorifies the one who made it."⁵ And so, brothers, we ought to learn clearly about our salvation, to keep the Evil One from hurling us away from our life after bringing error in through the backdoor.

² Isa 1:11–13.

³ Jer 7:22.

⁴ Zech 8:17.

⁵ Ps 51:17.

⁸ ἐὰν H L: οὐδε ἐὰν S

Λέγει οὖν πάλιν περὶ τούτων πρὸς αὐτούς· ἵνατί μοι νηστεύετε, λέγει κύριος, ὥς σήμερον ἀκουσθῆναι ἐν κραυγῇ τὴν φωνὴν ὑμῶν; οὐ ταύτην τὴν νηστείαν ἐξελεξάμην, λέγει κύριος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ταπεινοῦντα⁹ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, 2. οὐδ' ἂν κάμψητε ὥς κρίκον τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν καὶ σάκκον ἐνδύσησθε¹⁰ καὶ σποδὸν ὑποστρώσητε,¹¹ οὐδ' οὕτως καλέσετε νηστείαν δεκτὴν. 3. πρὸς ἡμᾶς δὲ λέγει· ἰδοὺ αὕτη ἡ νηστεία ἣν ἐγὼ ἐξελεξάμην, λέγει κύριος· λύε πάντα σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας, διάλυε στραγγαλιὰς βιαίων συναλλαγμάτων, ἀπόσπελλε τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει, καὶ πᾶσαν ἄδικον συγγραφὴν διάσπα. διάθρυντε πεινώσιν τὸν ἄρτον σου, καὶ γυμνὸν ἔαν ἴδῃς περίβαλε· ἀστέγους εἷσαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου, καὶ ἔαν ἴδῃς ταπεινόν, οὐχ ὑπερόψη αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τοῦ σπέρματός σου. 4. τότε ῥαγήσεται πρῶϊμον τὸ φῶς σου, καὶ τὰ ἱμάτιά¹² σου ταχέως ἀνατελεῖ, καὶ προπορεύσεται ἔμπροσθέν σου ἡ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ περιστελεῖ σε. 5. τότε βοήσεις, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐπακούσεται σου, ἔτι λαλοῦντός σου ἐρέι· ἰδοὺ πάρειμι· ἔαν ἀφέλῃς ἀπὸ σοῦ σύνδεσμον καὶ χειροτονίαν καὶ ῥῆμα γογγυσμοῦ, καὶ δῶς πεινῶντι τὸν ἄρτον σου ἐκ ψυχῆς σου, καὶ ψυχὴν τεταπεινωμένην ἐλεήσης.¹³ 6. εἰς τοῦτο οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ὁ μακρόθυμος προ-

⁹ λέγει . . . ταπεινοῦντα S L: ἡμέραν ἄνθρωπον ταπεινοῦντα H ¹⁰ ἐνδύσησθε H L: om. S

And so he speaks to them again concerning these things, "Why do you fast for me, says the Lord, so that your voice is heard crying out today? This is not the fast I have chosen, says the Lord—not a person humbling his soul. 2. Not even if you bend your neck into a circle and put on sackcloth and make for yourself a bed of ashes—not even so should you call this a proper fast."⁶ 3. But he says to us, "See, this is the fast I have chosen, says the Lord. Loosen every bond of injustice; unravel the strangle hold of coercive agreements; send forth in forgiveness those who are downtrodden; tear up every unfair contract. Break your bread for the hungry, and provide clothing for anyone you see naked. Bring the homeless under your roof. And if you see anyone who has been humbled, do not despise him—neither you nor anyone from your children's household. 4. Then your light will burst forth at dawn, your garments will quickly rise up, your righteousness will go forth before you, and the glory of God will clothe you. 5. Then you will cry out and God will hear you. While you are still speaking he will say, 'See! Here I am!'—if, that is, you remove from yourself bondage, the threatening gesture, and the word of complaint, and from your heart you give your bread to the poor and show mercy to the person who has been humbled."⁷ 6. The one who is patient anticipated, brothers, that the people he

⁶ Isa 58:3–5.⁷ Isa 58:6–10.¹¹ καὶ σποδὸν ὑποστρ.: om. H¹² ἱμάτια S H L: ἰάματα S**¹³ ἐλεήσης (S) L: ἐμπλήσης H

BARNABAS 4

βλέψας, ὡς ἐν ἀκεραιοσύνῃ πιστεύσει ὁ λαός, ὃν ἡτοίμασεν ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ αὐτοῦ, προεφανέρωσεν ἡμῖν περὶ πάντων, ἵνα μὴ προσρησώμεθα ὡς ἐπήλυτοι¹⁴ τῷ ἐκείνων νόμῳ.

4

Δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων ἐπιπολὺ ἐρευνῶντας ἐκζητεῖν τὰ δυνάμενα ἡμᾶς σῶζειν. φύγωμεν οὖν τελείως ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἀνομίας, μήποτε καταλάβῃ ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔργα τῆς ἀνομίας· καὶ μισήσωμεν τὴν πλάνην τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ, ἵνα εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα ἀγαπηθῶμεν. 2. μὴ δώμεν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ψυχῇ ἄνεσιν, ὥστε ἔχειν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν μετὰ ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν συντρέχειν, μήποτε ὁμοιωθῶμεν αὐτοῖς. 3. τὸ τέλειον σκάνδαλον ἡγγικεν, περὶ οὗ γέγραπται, ὡς Ἐνὼχ¹⁵ λέγει. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης συντέτμηκεν τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας, ἵνα ταχύνη ὁ ἡγαπημένος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν ἥξῃ. 4. λέγει δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ προφήτης· βασιλείαι¹⁶ δέκα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βασιλεύσουσιν, καὶ ἐξαναστήσεται ὁπισθεν μικρὸς βασιλεύς, ὃς ταπεινώσει τρεῖς ὑφ' ἐν τῶν βασιλέων. 5. ὁμοίως περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λέγει Δανιήλ· καὶ εἶδον τὸ τέταρτον θηρίον τὸ πονηρὸν καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ χαλεπώτερον παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία τῆς θαλάσσης,¹⁷ καὶ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνέτειλεν δέκα κέρατα, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μικρὸν κέρας παραφυάδιον, καὶ ὡς ἐταπείνωσεν ὑφ' ἐν τρία τῶν μεγάλων κεράτων. 6. συνιέναι

prepared in his beloved would believe, in a state of innocence. And so he revealed all things to us in advance, that we not be dashed against their law as newcomers [*Or: proselytes*].

4

And so by carefully investigating what is here and now, we must seek for the things that can save us. We should flee, entirely, all the works of lawlessness; otherwise, they may overwhelm us. And we should hate the error of the present age, that we may be loved in the age to come. 2. We should not allow our souls to relax, thinking they can consort with sinners and the wicked; otherwise we may become like them. 3. The final stumbling block is at hand, about which it has been written, just as Enoch says. For this reason the Master shortened the seasons and the days, that his beloved may hurry and arrive at his inheritance. 4. For also the prophet says, "Ten kingdoms will rule the earth and a small king will rise up afterwards; he will humble three of the kings at one time."⁸ 5. So too Daniel speaks about the same thing: "I saw the fourth beast, wicked and strong, and worse than all the beasts of the sea, and I saw how ten horns rose up from him, and from them a small horn as an offshoot; and I saw how he humbled three of the great horns at one time."⁹ 6. And so you should understand. And

⁸ Dan 7:24.

⁹ Dan 7:7–8.

¹⁴ ἐπήλυτοι (S): προσήλυτοι H L

¹⁵ Ἐνώχ S H: Daniel L ¹⁶ Βασιλείαι S L: βασιλείς H

¹⁷ θαλάσσης H L: γης S

BARNABAS 4

οὖν ὀφείλετε. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς ὡς εἰς ἐξ ὑμῶν ὢν, ἰδίως δὲ καὶ πάντας ἀγαπῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν μου, προσέχειν νῦν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ μὴ ὁμοιοῦσθαι τισιν ἐπισωρεύοντας ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ὑμῶν λέγοντας, ὅτι ἡ διαθήκη ἐκείνων καὶ ἡμῶν. 7. ἡμῶν μὲν.¹⁸ ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι οὕτως εἰς τέλος ἀπώλεσαν αὐτὴν λαβόντος ἤδη τοῦ Μωϋσέως. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· καὶ ἦν Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει νηστεύων ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν διαθήκην ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, πλάκας λιθίνας γεγραμμένας τῷ δακτύλῳ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ κυρίου. 8. ἀλλὰ ἐπιστραφέντες ἐπὶ τὰ εἰδωλα ἀπώλεσαν αὐτήν. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως κύριος· Μωϋσῆ Μωϋσῆ, κατάβηθι τὸ τάχος, ὅτι ἠνόμησεν ὁ λαός σου, οὓς ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου. καὶ συνῆκεν Μωϋσῆς καὶ ἔριψεν τὰς δύο πλάκας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ· καὶ συνετρίβη αὐτῶν ἡ διαθήκη, ἵνα ἡ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Ἰησοῦ ἐγκατασφραγισθῇ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἡμῶν ἐν ἐλπίδι τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ. 9. πολλὰ δὲ θέλων γράφειν, οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ' ὡς πρέπει ἀγαπῶντι ἀφ' ὧν ἔχομεν μὴ ἐλλείπειν, γράφειν ἐσπούδασα, περίφημα ὑμῶν. διὸ προσέχωμεν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὠφελήσει ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν,¹⁹ εἰ μὴ νῦν ἐν τῷ ἀνόμῳ καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς μέλλουσιν σκανδάλους, ὡς πρέπει υἱοῖς θεοῦ, ἀντιστῶμεν ἵνα οὖν μὴ σχῇ παρείσδυσιν ὁ μέλας. 10. φύγωμεν ἀπὸ πάσης ματαιότητος, μισήσωμεν

¹⁸ ἐκείνων . . . μὲν L: ἡμῶν μὲν S: ὑμῶν ὑμῖν μένει H

yet again, I am asking you this as one who is from among you and who loves each and every one of you more than my own soul: watch yourselves now and do not become like some people by piling up your sins, saying that the covenant is both theirs and ours. 7. For it is ours. But they permanently lost it, in this way, when Moses had just received it. For the Scripture says, "Moses was on the mountain fasting for forty days and forty nights, and he received the covenant from the Lord, stone tablets written with the finger of the Lord's own hand."¹⁰ 8. But when they turned back to idols they lost it. For the Lord says this: "Moses, Moses, go down quickly, because your people, whom you led from the land of Egypt, has broken the law."¹¹ Moses understood and cast the two tablets from his hands. And their covenant was smashed—that the covenant of his beloved, Jesus, might be sealed in our hearts, in the hope brought by faith in him. 9. Since I want to write many things, not as a teacher, but as is fitting for one who is eager to abandon none of the things we have, I hasten to write, as your lowly scapegoat. Therefore, we should pay close attention here in the final days. For the entire time of our faith will be of no use to us if we do not stand in resistance, as is fitting for the children of God, both against this present lawless age and against the stumbling blocks that are yet to come, 10. that the Black One not sneak in among us.

¹⁰ Exod 31:18; 34:28.

¹¹ Exod 32:7.

¹⁹ τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν (S): τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν H: τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν L

τελείως τὰ ἔργα τῆς πονηρᾶς ὁδοῦ. μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐνδύνοντες μονάζετε ὡς ἤδη δεδικαιωμένοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνεργόμενοι συνζητεῖτε περὶ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος. 11. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· οὐαὶ οἱ συνετοὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐνώπιον ἑαυτῶν ἐπιστήμονες. γενώμεθα πνευματικοί, γενώμεθα ναὸς τέλειος τῷ θεῷ. ἐφ' ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν, μελετῶμεν τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσειν ἀγωνιζόμεθα τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασιν αὐτοῦ εὐφρανθῶμεν. 12. ὁ κύριος ἀπροσωπολήπτως κρινεῖ τὸν κόσμον· ἕκαστος καθὼς ἐποίησεν κομιεῖται. ἐὰν ᾖ ἀγαθός, ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ προηγῆσεται αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν ᾖ πονηρός, ὁ μισθὸς τῆς πονηρίας ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. 13. ἵνα μήποτε ἐπαναπαύόμενοι ὡς κλητοὶ ἐπικαθυπνώσωμεν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἄρχων λαβὼν τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐξουσίαν ἀπόσῃται ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ κυρίου. 14. ἔτι δὲ κακεῖνο, ἀδελφοί μου, νοεῖτε· ὅταν βλέπετε μετὰ τηλικαῦτα σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γεγονότα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ οὕτως ἐγκαταλελειφθαι αὐτούς, προσέχωμεν μήποτε, ὡς γέγραπται, πολλοὶ κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοὶ εὐρεθῶμεν.

5

Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπέμεινεν ὁ κύριος παραδοῦναι τὴν σάρκα εἰς καταφθοράν, ἵνα τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἀγνισθῶμεν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ῥαντίσματι αὐτοῦ τοῦ

BARNABAS 5

We should flee from all that is futile and completely hate the works of the evil path. Do not sink into yourselves and live alone, as if you were already made upright; instead, gathering together for the same purpose, seek out what is profitable for the common good. 11. For the Scripture says, "Woe to those who have understanding in themselves and are knowledgeable before their own eyes."¹² We should be spiritual; we should be a perfect temple to God. As much as we can, we should concern ourselves with the reverential awe of God and struggle to guard his commandments, that we may be glad in his righteous acts. 12. The Lord will judge the world, playing no favorites. Each will receive according to what he has done. If he is good, his righteousness will precede him; if evil, the reward for his wickedness will be before him. 13. As those who are called we must never lie down and lose consciousness of our sins, allowing the evil ruler to receive the authority against us and force us out of the Lord's kingdom. 14. And still, my brothers, consider: when you observe that Israel was abandoned even after such signs and wonders had occurred in it, we too should pay close attention, lest, as it is written, "many of us were found called, but few chosen."¹³

5

This is why the Lord allowed his flesh to be given over to corruption, that we might be made holy through the forgiveness of sins, which comes in the sprinkling of his blood.

¹² Isa 5:21.

¹³ Matt 22:14.

αἵματος.²⁰ 2. γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἃ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραήλ, ἃ δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. λέγει δὲ οὕτως· ἔτραυματίσθη διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ μεμαλάκισται διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν· τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν· ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἀφῶνος ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος αὐτόν. 3. οὐκοῦν ὑπερευχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτι καὶ τὰ παρεληλυθότα ἡμῖν ἐγνώρισεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐνεστῶσιν ἡμᾶς ἐσόφισεν, καὶ εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα οὐκ ἐσμέν ἀσύνετοι. 4. λέγει δὲ ἡ γραφή· οὐκ ἀδίκως ἐκτείνεται δίκτυα πτερωτοῖς. τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι δικαίως ἀπολείται ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἔχων ὁδοῦ δικαιοσύνης γνῶσιν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὁδὸν σκοτούς ἀποσυνέχει. 5. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ἀδελφοί μου· εἰ ὁ κύριος ὑπέμεινεν παθεῖν περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν, ὣν παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου κύριος, ᾧ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς²¹ ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου· ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν, πῶς οὖν ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὸ χειρὸς ἀνθρώπων παθεῖν; μάθετε. 6. οἱ προφῆται, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες τὴν χάριν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπροφήτευσαν· αὐτὸς δέ, ἵνα καταργήσῃ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν δείξῃ, ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν φανερωθῆναι, ὑπέμεινεν, 7. ἵνα τοῖς πατράσιν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀποδῶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὸν λαὸν²² τὸν καινὸν ἐτοιμάζων ἐπιδείξῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὡν, ὅτι τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτὸς ποιήσας κρινεῖ. 8. πέρας γέ τοι

²⁰ ῥαντ. αὐτοῦ τ. αἵματος H L: αἵματι τοῦ ῥαντίσματος αὐτοῦ S ²¹ ᾧ . . . ὁ θεὸς S L: ὡς . . . ὁ κύριος H

BARNABAS 5

2. For some of the things written about him concern Israel; others concern us. And so it says: "He was wounded because of our lawless acts and weakened because of our sins. By his bruising we were healed. He was led like a sheep going to slaughter; and like a lamb, silent before the one who shears it."¹⁴ 3. Therefore we ought to give thanks to the Lord even more abundantly, because he revealed to us the things that have taken place and made us wise in the things that are now; and we are not ignorant of the things that are yet to happen. 4. And the Scripture says, "Not unjustly are the nets spread out for the birds."¹⁵ It says this because the person who knows the path of righteousness but keeps himself in the path of darkness deserves to perish. 5. Consider this, my brothers: if the Lord allowed himself to suffer for our sake, even though he was the Lord of the entire world, the one to whom God said at the foundation of the world, "Let us make a human according to our image and likeness,"¹⁶ how then did he allow himself to suffer by the hand of humans? Learn this! 6. Because the prophets received his gracious gift, they prophesied looking ahead to him. He allowed himself to suffer in order to destroy death and to show that there is a resurrection of the dead. For he had to be manifest in the flesh. 7. And he allowed himself to suffer in order to redeem the promise given to the fathers and to show, while he was on earth preparing a new people for himself, that he is to execute judgment after raising the dead. 8. Moreover, while teaching Israel and

¹⁴ Isa 53:5, 7.

¹⁵ Prov 1:17.

¹⁶ Gen 1:26.

²² G begins here

διδάσκων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τηλικαῦτα τέρατα καὶ ση-
 μεία ποιῶν²³ ἐκήρυσσεν,²⁴ καὶ²⁵ ὑπερηγάπησαν αὐτόν.
 9. ὅτε δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους τοὺς μέλλοντας
 κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ ἐξελέξατο, ὄντας ὑπὲρ
 πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους, ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι οὐκ
 ἦλθεν καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλούς, τότε
 ἐφάνέρωσεν ἑαυτὸν εἶναι υἱὸν θεοῦ. 10. εἰ γὰρ μὴ
 ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί, πῶς ἂν²⁶ ἐσώθησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι
 βλέποντες αὐτόν, ὅτε τὸν μέλλοντα μὴ εἶναι ἥλιον,
 ἔργον τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχοντα, ἐμβλέποντες οὐκ
 ἰσχύουσιν εἰς τὰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι;
 11. οὐκοῦν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τοῦτο ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί,
 ἵνα τὸ τέλειον τῶν ἁμαρτῶν ἀνακεφαλαιώσῃ τοῖς
 διώξασιν ἐν θανάτῳ τοὺς προφῆτας αὐτοῦ. 12. οὐκοῦν
 εἰς τοῦτο ὑπέμεινεν. λέγει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὴν πληγὴν τῆς
 σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτῶν· ὅταν πατάξωσιν²⁷ τὸν ποι-
 μένα ἑαυτῶν, τότε ἀπολείται²⁸ τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιίμ-
 νης. 13. αὐτὸς δὲ ἠθέλησεν οὕτω παθεῖν· ἔδει γάρ,
 ἵνα ἐπὶ ξύλου πάθῃ. λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφητεύων ἐπ’
 αὐτῷ· φείσαί μου τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ ρομφαίας, καὶ
 καθήλωσόν μου τὰς σάρκας, ὅτι ποινηρενομένων συν-
 αγωγαὶ ἐπανεστήσαν μοι. 14. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἰδοὺ,
 τέθεικά μου τὸν νῶτον εἰς μάστιγας, τὰς δὲ σιαγόνας
 εἰς ῥαπίσματα· τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου ἔθηκα ὡς στε-
 ρεὰν πέτραν.

²³ ποιῶν S G: add οὐχ ὅτι H: add non L

²⁴ ἐκήρυσσεν S H: ἐκήρυξε G: crediderunt L

doing such wonders and signs, he preached to them and loved them deeply. 9. And when he selected his own apostles who were about to preach his gospel, they were altogether lawless beyond all sin. This was to show that he did not come to call the upright but sinners. Then he revealed that he was the Son of God. 10. For if he had not come in the flesh, how would people have been able to look upon him and survive? For they cannot even look intently at the sun, gazing directly into its rays, even though it is the work of his hands and will eventually cease to exist. 11. Therefore, the Son of God came in the flesh for this reason, that he might total up all the sins of those who persecuted his prophets to death. 12. And so this is why he allowed himself to suffer. For God speaks of the blow they delivered against his flesh: "When they smite their own shepherd, then the sheep of the flock will perish."¹⁷ 13. But he wished to suffer in this way, for he had to suffer on a tree. For the one who prophesied about him said, "Spare my life from the sword," and "Nail my flesh, because an assembly [*Or: synagogue*] of evildoers has risen up against me."¹⁸ 14. Again he says, "See! I have set my back to whips and my cheeks to blows; and I have set my face as a hard rock."¹⁹

¹⁷ Cf. Zech 13:7; Matt 26:31.

¹⁸ Ps 22:20, 16.

¹⁹ Isa 50:6–7.

²⁵ καὶ: nec L

²⁶ πῶς ἂν G L: οὐδ' ἂν πῶς S: οὐκ ἂν H

²⁷ πατάξωσιν S H: πατάξω G L

²⁸ ἀπολείται H: ἀπολίπεται S: σκορπισθήσεται G L

Ὅτε οὖν ἐποίησεν τὴν ἐντολήν, τί λέγει; τίς ὁ κρινόμενός μοι; ἀντιστήτω μοι· ἢ τίς ὁ δικαιούμενός²⁹ μοι; ἐγγισάτω τῷ παιδί κυρίου. 2. οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὑμεῖς πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσεσθε καὶ σῆς καταφάγεται ὑμᾶς. καὶ πάλιν λέγει ὁ προφήτης, ἐπεὶ ὡς λίθος ἰσχυρὸς ἐτέθη εἰς συντριβήν· ἰδού, ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών λίθον πολυτελῆ, ἐκλεκτόν, ἀκρογωνιαῖον, ἔντιμον. 3. εἶτα τί λέγει; καὶ ὁ πιστεύων εἰς³⁰ αὐτὸν ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. ἐπὶ λίθον οὖν ἡμῶν ἡ ἐλπίς; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐν ἰσχυί τέθεικεν τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ ὁ κύριος. λέγει γάρ· καὶ ἔθηκέ με ὡς στερεὰν πέτραν. 4. λέγει δὲ πάλιν ὁ προφήτης· λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστή, ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος. 5. ἀπλούστερον ὑμῖν γράφω, ἵνα συνιῇτε· ἐγὼ περίφημα τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν. 6. τί οὖν λέγει πάλιν ὁ προφήτης; περιέσχεν με συναγωγὴ πονηρευομένων, ἐκύκλωσάν με ὥσπερ μέλισσαι κηρίον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον. 7. ἐν σαρκὶ οὖν αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος φανεροῦσθαι καὶ πάσχειν, προεφανερώθη τὸ πάθος. λέγει γάρ ὁ προφήτης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ· οὐαὶ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῶν, ὅτι βεβούλευνται βουλὴν πονηρὰν καθ' ἑαυτῶν, εἰπόντες· δῆσωμεν τὸν

²⁹ δικαιούμενος S H: δικαζόμενος G

³⁰ ὁ πιστ. εἰς S H (L): ὃς ἐλπίζει ἐπ' G

And so, when he issued the commandment, what did he say? "Who is the one who takes me to court? Let him oppose me! Or who acquits himself before me? Let him approach the servant of the Lord! 2. Woe to you, for you will all grow old like a garment and a moth will devour you."²⁰ And again, since he was set in place as a strong stone used for crushing, the prophet says, "See, I will cast into Zion's foundation a precious stone that is chosen, a cornerstone, one to be valued." 3. Then what does he say? "The one who believes in him will live forever."²¹ Is our hope then built on a stone? May it never be! But he says this because the Lord has set his flesh up in strength. For he says, "He set me up as a hard rock."²² 4. And again the prophet says, "A stone that the builders rejected has become the very cornerstone." And again he says, "This is the great and marvelous day the Lord has made."²³ 5. I am writing to you in very simple terms, that you may understand. I am a lowly scapegoat for your love. 6. And so what again does the prophet say? "An assembly [*Or: synagogue*] of evildoers surrounded me, they swarmed about me like bees around a honeycomb,"²⁴ and, "They cast lots for my clothing."²⁵ 7. And so, because he was about to be revealed and suffer in the flesh, his suffering was revealed in advance. For the prophet says about Israel, "Woe to their souls, because they hatched an evil plot against themselves, saying, 'Let us bind the upright one, because he is

²⁰ Isa 50:8-9.²¹ Isa 28:16.²² Isa 50:7.²³ Ps 118:22, 24; cf. 1 Pet 2:7.²⁴ Ps 22:16; 118:12.²⁵ Ps 22:18.

δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστίν. 8. τί λέγει ὁ ἄλλος προφήτης Μωϋσῆς αὐτοῖς; ἰδού, τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός· εἰσέλθατε εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν, ἣν ὤμοσεν κύριος τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, καὶ κατακληρονομήσατε αὐτήν, γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι. 9. τί δὲ λέγει ἡ γνώσις, μάθετε. ἐλπίσατε, φησὶν, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν σαρκὶ μέλλοντα φανεροῦσθαι ὑμῖν Ἰησοῦν. ἄνθρωπος γὰρ γῆ ἐστιν πάσχουσα· ἀπὸ προσώπου γὰρ τῆς γῆς ἡ πλάσις τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐγένετο. 10. τί οὖν λέγει· εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν, γῆν ῥέουσιν γάλα καὶ μέλι; εὐλογητὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ὁ σοφίαν καὶ νοῦν θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν τῶν κρυφίων αὐτοῦ. λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης παραβολὴν κυρίου· τίς νοήσει, εἰ μὴ σοφὸς καὶ ἐπιστήμων καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ; 11. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀνακαινίσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ἄλλον τύπον, ὡς παιδίων ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν, ὡς ἂν δὴ ἀναπλάσσοιτο αὐτοῦ³¹ ἡμᾶς. 12. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς λέγει τῷ νιῷ· ποιήσωμεν κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἡμῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ εἶπεν κύριος, ἰδὼν τὸ καλὸν πλάσμα ἡμῶν· αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν. ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν υἱόν.³² 13. πάλιν σοι ἐπιδείξω, πῶς πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγει. δευτέραν πλάσιν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἐποίησεν. λέγει δὲ

³¹ δὴ ἀναπλ. αὐτοῦ S H: δὲ ἀναπλασσομένους αὐτοὺς G

trouble for us.”²⁶ 8. What does the other prophet, Moses, say to them? “See, this is what the Lord God says, ‘Enter into the good land, which the Lord swore to give to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and receive it as an inheritance, a land flowing with milk and honey.’”²⁷ 9. Learn what knowledge says. “Hope,” it says, “in Jesus, who is about to be revealed to you in the flesh.” For a human is earth that suffers. For Adam was formed out of the face of the earth. 10. Why then does he say, “Into the good land, a land flowing with milk and honey”? Blessed is our Lord, brothers, who placed the wisdom and knowledge of his secrets within us. For the prophet is speaking a parable of the Lord. Who will understand it, except one who is wise and learned, who loves his Lord? 11. Since, then, he renewed us through the forgiveness of our sins, he made us into a different type of person, that we might have the soul of children, as if he were indeed forming us all over again. 12. For the Scripture speaks about us when he says to his Son, “Let us make humans according to our image and likeness, and let them rule over the wild beasts of the land and the birds of the sky and the fish of the sea.”²⁸ Once the Lord saw our beautiful form, he said “Increase and multiply and fill the earth.”²⁹ He said these things to the Son. 13. Again I will show you how he speaks to us. He made yet a second

²⁶ Isa 3:9–10.

²⁷ Exod 33:1, 3.

²⁸ Gen 1:26.

²⁹ Gen 1:28.

³² *ταῦτα* . . . *νῦν* S G: om. H L

κύριος· ἰδοὺ, ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα. εἰς τοῦτο οὖν ἐκήρυξεν ὁ προφήτης· εἰσέλθατε εἰς γῆν ῥέουσιν γάλα καὶ μέλι καὶ κατακυριεύσατε αὐτῆς. 14. ἴδε οὖν, ἡμεῖς ἀναπεπλάσμεθα, καθὼς πάλιν ἐν ἐτέρῳ προφῆτῃ λέγει· ἰδοὺ, λέγει κύριος, ἐξελῶ τούτων, τουτέστιν ὧν προέβλεπεν τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, τὰς λιθίνας καρδίας, καὶ ἐμβαλῶ σαρκίνας· ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐν σαρκὶ ἔμελλεν φανεροῦσθαι καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικεῖν. 15. ναὸς γὰρ ἅγιος, ἀδελφοί μου, τῷ κυρίῳ τὸ κατοικητήριον ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας. 16. λέγει γὰρ κύριος πάλιν· καὶ ἐν τίνι ὀφθῆσομαι τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ μου καὶ δοξασθήσομαι; λέγει· ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀδελφῶν μου, καὶ ψαλῶ σοι ἀναμέσον ἐκκλησίας ἁγίων. οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν, οὓς εἰσῆγαγεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν. 17. τί οὖν τὸ γάλα καὶ τὸ μέλι; ὅτι πρῶτον τὸ παιδίον μέλιτι, εἶτα γάλακτι ζωοποιεῖται· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ πίστει τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ζωοποιούμενοι ζήσομεν κατακυριεύοντες τῆς γῆς. 18. προείρηκε δὲ ἐπάνω· καὶ αὐξανέσθωσαν καὶ πληθυνέσθωσαν καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων. τίς οὖν ὁ δυνάμενος νῦν ἄρχειν θηρίων ἢ ἰχθύων ἢ πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ὀφείλομεν, ὅτι τὸ ἄρχειν ἐξουσίας ἐστίν, ἵνα τις ἐπιτάξας κυριεύσῃ. 19. εἰ οὖν οὐ³³ γίνεται τοῦτο νῦν, ἄρα ἡμῖν εἴρηκεν, πότε³⁴ ὅταν καὶ αὐτοὶ τελειωθῶμεν κληρονόμοι τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου γενέσθαι.

³³ οὐ S G: om. H

³⁴ πότε S G: τότε H

human form in the final days. And the Lord says, "See! I am making the final things like the first."³⁰ This is why the prophet proclaimed, "Enter into a land flowing with milk and honey, and rule over it."³¹ 14. See, then, that we have been formed anew, just as he again says in another prophet, "See, says the Lord, I will remove from these people their hearts of stone" (that is to say, from those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw) "and cast into them hearts of flesh."³² For he was about to be revealed in the flesh and to dwell among us. 15. For the dwelling place of our heart, my brothers, is a temple holy to the Lord. 16. For again the Lord says, "And how will I appear before the Lord my God and be glorified?"³³ He answers: "I will praise you in the assembly [*Or: church*] of my brothers, and sing your praise in the midst of the assembly [*Or: church*] of saints."³⁴ And so we are the ones he has brought into the good land. 17. Why then does he speak of milk and honey? Because the child is first nourished by honey and then milk. So also, when we are nourished by faith in the promise and then by the word, we will live as masters over the earth. 18. For he already said above, "Let them increase and multiply and rule over the fish."³⁵ Who can now rule over wild beasts and fish and birds of the sky? For we ought to realize that ruling is a matter of authority, so that the one who issues commands is the master. 19. Since this is not happening now, he has told us when it will happen—when we have ourselves been perfected so as to become heirs of the Lord's covenant.

³⁰ Source unknown.

³¹ Exod 33:3.

³² Ezek 11:19.

³³ Ps 42:4.

³⁴ Ps 22:22, 25.

³⁵ Gen 1:28.

Οὐκοῦν νοεῖτε, τέκνα εὐφροσύνης, ὅτι πάντα ὁ καλὸς κύριος προεφανέρωσεν ἡμῖν, ἵνα γινώμεν, ᾧ κατὰ πάντα εὐχαριστοῦντες ὀφείλομεν αἰνεῖν. 2. εἰ οὖν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὢν κύριος³⁵ καὶ μέλλων κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, ἔπαθεν, ἵνα ἡ πληγὴ αὐτοῦ ζωοποιήσῃ ἡμᾶς, πιστεύσωμεν ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἠδύνατο παθεῖν εἰ μὴ δι' ἡμᾶς. 3. ἀλλὰ καὶ σταυρωθεὶς ἐποτίζετο ὄξει καὶ χολῇ. ἀκούσατε, πῶς περὶ τούτου πεφανέρωκαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ ναοῦ. γεγραμμένης ἐντολῆς· ὃς ἂν μὴ νηστεύσῃ τὴν νηστείαν, θανάτῳ ἐξολεθρευθήσεται, ἐνετείλατο κύριος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτιῶν ἔμελλεν τὸ σκεῦος τοῦ πνεύματος προσφέρειν θυσίαν, ἵνα καὶ ὁ τύπος ὁ γενόμενος ἐπὶ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ προσενοχθέντος ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τελεσθῇ. 4. τί οὖν λέγει ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ; καὶ φαγέτωσαν ἐκ τοῦ τράγου τοῦ προσφερομένου τῇ νηστείᾳ ὑπὲρ πασῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. προσέχετε ἀκριβῶς· καὶ φαγέτωσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς μόνοι πάντες τὸ ἔντερον ἄπλυτον μετὰ ὄξους. 5. πρὸς τί; ἐπειδὴ ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν μέλλοντα τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ καινοῦ προσφέρειν τὴν σάρκα μου μέλλετε ποτίζειν χολὴν μετὰ ὄξους, φάγετε ὑμεῖς μόνοι, τοῦ λαοῦ νηστεύοντος καὶ κομπομένου ἐπὶ σάκκου καὶ σποδοῦ, ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν παθεῖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. 6. ἃ ἐνετείλατο, προσέχετε· λάβετε δύο τράγους καλοὺς καὶ ὁμοίους καὶ προσ-

And so you should understand, children of gladness, that the good Lord has revealed everything to us in advance, that we may know whom to praise when we give thanks for everything. 2. And so, if the Son of God suffered, that by being beaten he might give us life (even though he is the Lord and is about to judge the living and the dead), we should believe that the Son of God could not suffer unless it was for our sakes. 3. But also when he was crucified he was given vinegar and gall to drink. Listen how the priests in the Temple made a revelation about this. For the Lord gave the written commandment that "Whoever does not keep the fast must surely die,"³⁶ because he himself was about to offer the vessel of the Spirit as a sacrifice for our own sins, that the type might also be fulfilled that was set forth in Isaac, when he was offered on the altar. 4. What then does he say in the prophet? "Let them eat some of the goat offered for all sins on the day of fasting." Now pay careful attention: "And let all the priests alone eat the intestines, unwashed, with vinegar."³⁷ 5. Why is this? Since you are about to give me gall mixed with vinegar to drink—when I am about to offer my flesh on behalf of the sins of my new people—you alone are to eat, while the people fast and mourn in sackcloth and ashes. He says this to show that he had to suffer at their hands. 6. Pay attention to what he commands: "Take two fine goats who are alike and offer

³⁶ Lev 23:29.

³⁷ Source unknown. Cf. Lev 16.

³⁵ κύριος H G L: add προεφάνερωσεν ἵνα γνωμὲν ᾧ κατὰ πάντα εὐχαριστοῦντες S

ενέγκατε, καὶ λαβέτω ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν ἕνα εἰς ὀλοκαύτωμα ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν. 7. τὸν δὲ ἕνα τί ποιήσουσιν; ἐπικατάρατος, φησὶν, ὁ εἷς. προσέχετε, πῶς ὁ τύπος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φανεροῦται. 8. καὶ ἐμπτύσατε πάντες καὶ κατακεντήσατε καὶ περίθετε τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἔρημον βληθήτω. καὶ ὅταν γένηται οὕτως, ἄγει ὁ βαστάζων τὸν τράγον εἰς τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἀφαιρεῖ τὸ ἔριον καὶ ἐπιτίθουσιν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ φρύγανον τὸ λεγόμενον ῥαχή,³⁶ οὗ καὶ τοὺς βλαστοὺς³⁷ εἰώθαμεν τρώγειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ εὐρίσκοντες. οὕτω μόνῃς τῆς ῥαχῆς³⁸ οἱ καρποὶ γλυκεῖς εἰσίν. 9. τί οὖν τοῦτό ἐστιν; προσέχετε· τὸν μὲν ἕνα ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, τὸν δὲ ἕνα ἐπικατάρατον, καὶ ὅτι τὸν ἐπικατάρατον³⁹ ἐστεφανωμένον. ἐπειδὴ ὄψονται αὐτὸν τότε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν ποδῆρῃ ἔχοντα τὸν κόκκινον περὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ ἐροῦσιν· οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃν ποτε ἡμεῖς ἐσταυρώσαμεν ἐξουθενήσαντες καὶ κατακεντήσαντες καὶ ἐμπτύσαντες;⁴⁰ ἀληθῶς οὗτος ἦν, ὁ τότε λέγων ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ εἶναι. 10. πῶς γὰρ ὁμοίος ἐκείνῳ; εἰς τοῦτο ὁμοίους τοὺς τράγους, καλοὺς, ἴσους, ἵνα ὅταν ἴδωσιν αὐτὸν τότε ἐρχόμενον, ἐκπλαγῶσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμοιότητι τοῦ τράγου.⁴¹ οὐκοῦν ἴδε τὸν τύπον τοῦ μέλλοντος πάσχειν Ἰησοῦ. 11. τί δέ, ὅτι τὸ ἔριον εἰς μέσον τῶν ἀκανθῶν τιθέασιν; τύπος ἐστὶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κείμενος, ὅτι ὃς ἐὰν θέλῃ τὸ ἔριον ἄραι τὸ

³⁶ ῥαχή H: ῥαχήλ S: ῥαχίλ G rubus L

³⁷ βλαστοὺς S G: καρποὺς H

them as a sacrifice; and let the priest take one of them as a whole burnt offering for sins.”³⁸ 7. But what will they do with the other? “The other,” he says, “is cursed.”³⁹ Pay attention to how the type of Jesus is revealed. 8. “And all of you shall spit on it and pierce it and wrap a piece of scarlet wool around its head, and so let it be cast into the wilderness.”⁴⁰ When this happens, the one who takes the goat leads it into the wilderness and removes the wool, and places it on a blackberry bush, whose buds we are accustomed to eat when we find it in the countryside. (Thus the fruit of the blackberry bush alone is sweet.) 9. And so, what does this mean? Pay attention: “The one they take to the altar, but the other is cursed,” and the one that is cursed is crowned. For then they will see him in that day wearing a long scarlet robe around his flesh, and they will say, “Is this not the one we once crucified, despising, piercing, and spitting on him? Truly this is the one who was saying at the time that he was himself the Son of God.” 10. For how is he like that one? This is why “the goats are alike, fine, and equal,” that when they see him coming at that time, they may be amazed at how much he is like the goat. See then the type of Jesus who was about to suffer. 11. But why do they place the wool in the midst of the thorns? This is a type of Jesus established for the church, because whoever

³⁸ Lev 16:7, 9.

³⁹ Cf. Lev 16:8.

⁴⁰ Cf. Lev 16:10, 20–22.

³⁸ ῥαχῆς H: ῥάχους S G

³⁹ καὶ ὅτι τὸν ἐπικατάρατον om. H

⁴⁰ ἐμπτύσαντες S H L: ἐμπαίξαντες G

⁴¹ τοῦ τράγου: αὐτοῦ H

κόκκινον, δεῖ αὐτὸν πολλὰ παθεῖν διὰ τὸ εἶναι φοβερὰν τὴν ἄκανθαν, καὶ θλιβέντα κυριεύσαι αὐτοῦ. οὕτω, φησὶν, οἱ θέλοντές με ἰδεῖν καὶ ἄψασθαί μου τῆς βασιλείας ὀφείλουσιν θλιβέντες καὶ παθόντες λαβεῖν με.

8

Τίνα δὲ δοκεῖτε τύπον εἶναι, ὅτι ἐντέταλται τῷ Ἰσραὴλ προσφέρειν δάμαλιν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐν οἷς εἰσὶν ἁμαρτίαι τέλειαι, καὶ σφάζοντας κατακαίειν, καὶ αἶρειν τότε τὴν σποδὸν παιδία καὶ βάλλειν εἰς ἄγγη καὶ περιτιθέναι τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον ἐπὶ ξύλον; (ἴδε πάλιν ὁ τύπος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον) καὶ τὸ ὕσσωπον, καὶ οὕτως ῥαντίζειν τὰ παιδία καθ' ἓνα τὸν λαόν, ἵνα ἀγνίζωνται ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν; 2. νοεῖτε, πῶς ἐν ἀπλότῃτι λέγει ὑμῖν. ὁ μόσχος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐστίν, οἱ προσφέροντες ἄνδρες ἁμαρτωλοὶ οἱ προσενέγκαντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν. εἶτα οὐκέτι ἄνδρες, οὐκέτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ἡ δόξα. 3. οἱ ῥαντίζοντες παῖδες οἱ εὐαγγελιστάμενοι ἡμῖν τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τὸν ἀγνισμὸν τῆς καρδίας, οἷς ἔδωκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὴν ἐξουσίαν—οὖσιν δεκαδύο εἰς μαρτύριον τῶν φυλῶν ὅτι δεκαδύο φυλαὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ—εἰς τὸ κηρύσσειν. 4. διὰ τί δὲ τρεῖς παῖδες οἱ ῥαντίζοντες; εἰς μαρτύριον Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαάκ, Ἰακώβ, ὅτι οὗτοι μεγάλοι τῷ θεῷ. 5. ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἔριον ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον; ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ ξύλῳ, καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπ'

wishes to remove the scarlet wool must suffer greatly, since the thorn is a fearful thing, and a person can retrieve the wool only by experiencing pain. And so he says: those who wish to see me and touch my kingdom must take hold of me through pain and suffering.

8

And what do you suppose is the type found in his command to Israel, that men who are full of sin should offer up a heifer, and after slaughtering it burn it, and that children should then take the ashes and cast them into vessels, and then tie scarlet wool around a piece of wood (see again the type of the cross and the scarlet wool!), along with the hyssop, and that the children should thus sprinkle the people one by one, that they might be purified from their sins? 2. Understand how he speaks to you simply. The calf is Jesus; the sinful men who make the offering are those who offered him up for slaughter. Then they are no longer men and the glory of sinners is no more. 3. The children who sprinkle are those who proclaimed to us the forgiveness of sins and the purification of our hearts. To them he has given the authority to preach the gospel. There are twelve of them as a witness to the tribes, for there were twelve tribes in Israel. 4. But why are there three children who sprinkle? As a witness to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, because these were great before God. 5. And why is the wool placed on a piece of wood? Because the kingdom of Jesus

BARNABAS 9

αὐτὸν ζήσονται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. 6. διὰ τί δὲ ἅμα τὸ ἔριον καὶ τὸ ὕσσωπον; ὅτι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἡμέραι ἔσονται πονηραὶ καὶ ῥυπαραί, ἐν αἷς ἡμεῖς σωθησόμεθα· ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἀλγὼν σάρκα διὰ τοῦ ῥύπου τοῦ ὕσσωπου ἰᾶται. 7. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως γενόμενα ἡμῖν μὲν ἔστιν φανερά, ἐκείνοις δὲ σκοτεινά, ὅτι οὐκ ἤκουσαν φωνῆς κυρίου.

9

Λέγει γὰρ πάλιν περὶ τῶν ὠτίων, πῶς περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὴν καρδίαν. λέγει κύριος ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ· εἰς ἀκοὴν ὠτίου ὑπήκουσάν μου. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἀκοῇ ἀκούσονται οἱ πόρρωθεν, ἃ ἐποίησα γινώσκονται. καὶ περιτμήθητε, λέγει κύριος, τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν. 2. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἄκουε Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός σου. καὶ πάλιν τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου προφητεύει.⁴² τίς ἔστιν ὁ θέλων ζῆσαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα; ἀκοῇ ἀκουσάτω τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ παιδός μου. 3. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἄκουε οὐρανέ, καὶ ἐνωτίζου γῆ, ὅτι κύριος λάλησεν ταῦτα εἰς μαρτύριον. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου, ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἀκούσατε, τέκνα, φωνῆς βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. οὐκοῦν περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοάς, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες λόγον⁴³ πιστεύσωμεν ἡμεῖς.

⁴² καὶ . . . προφητεύει P G L: om. S H ⁴³ ἀκούσαντες λόγον P^{vid} H G L: ἀκούσωμεν λόγον καὶ μὴ μόνον S

is on the tree, and because those who hope in him will live forever. 6. But why are the wool and hyssop together? Because in his kingdom there will be evil and foul days, in which we will be saved. And because the one who is sick in the flesh is healed by the foul juice of the hyssop. 7. And thus the things that have happened in this way are clear to us, but they are obscure to them, because they have not heard the voice of the Lord.

9

For he speaks again about the ears, indicating how he has circumcised our hearts. The Lord says in the prophet, "They obeyed me because of what they heard with their ears."⁴¹ Again he says, "Those who are far off will clearly hear; they will know what I have done."⁴² And, "Circumcise your hearts,"⁴³ says the Lord. 2. Again he says, "Hear O Israel, for thus says the Lord your God."⁴⁴ And again the Spirit of the Lord prophesies, "Who is the one who wants to live forever? Let him clearly hear the voice of my servant."⁴⁵ 3. Again he says, "Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord has said these things as a witness."⁴⁶ And again he says, "Hear the word of the Lord, you rulers of this people."⁴⁷ And again he says, "Hear, O children, the voice of one crying in the wilderness."⁴⁸ Thus he circumcised our hearing, that once we heard the word we might

⁴¹ Ps 18:44.

⁴² Cf. Isa 33:13.

⁴³ Isa 33:13; Jer 4:4.

⁴⁴ Cf. Jer 7:2-3; Ps 34:12-13.

⁴⁵ Cf. Ps 34:12-13; Isa 50:10; Exod 15:26.

⁴⁶ Cf. Isa 1:2.

⁴⁷ Cf. Isa 1:10; 28:14.

⁴⁸ Cf. Isa 40:3.

4. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ περιτομή, ἐφ' ἣ πεποιθήσιν, κατήργηται. περιτομὴν γὰρ εἴρηκεν οὐ σαρκὸς γεννηθῆναι· ἀλλὰ παρέβησαν, ὅτι ἄγγελος ποινηρὸς ἐσόφειζεν αὐτούς. 5. λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς· τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν (ὧδε εὕρισκω ἐντολήν)· μὴ σπείρητε ἐπ' ἀκάνθαις, περιτμήθητε τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν. καὶ τί λέγει; περιτμήθητε τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν, καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν οὐ σκληρυνεῖτε. λάβε πάλιν· ἰδού, λέγει κύριος, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀπερίτμητα ἀκροβυστία, ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὗτος ἀπερίτμητος καρδία. 6. ἀλλ' ἐρεῖς· καὶ μὴν περιτέτμηται ὁ λαὸς εἰς σφραγίδα. ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶς Σύρος καὶ ἸΑραψ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν εἰδώλων· ἄρα οὖν κακῆνοι ἐκ τῆς διαθήκης αὐτῶν εἰσίν; ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν περιτομῇ εἰσίν. 7. μάθετε οὖν, τέκνα ἀγάπης, περὶ πάντων πλουσίως, ὅτι Ἀβραάμ, πρῶτος περιτομὴν δούς, ἐν πνεύματι προβλέψας εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν περιέτεμεν, λαβὼν τριῶν γραμμάτων δόγματα. 8. λέγει γάρ· καὶ περιέτεμεν Ἀβραάμ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ἄνδρας δεκαοκτὼ καὶ τριακοσίους. τίς οὖν ἡ δοθείσα αὐτῷ γνῶσις; μάθετε, ὅτι τοὺς δεκαοκτὼ πρώτους, καὶ διάστημα ποιήσας λέγει τριακοσίους. τὸ δεκαοκτὼ ἰῶτα δέκα, ἦτα ὀκτώ.⁴⁴ ἔχεις Ἰησοῦν. ὅτι δὲ ὁ σταυρὸς ἐν τῷ ταῦ ἡμελλεν ἔχειν τὴν χάριν, λέγει καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους. δηλοῖ οὖν τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τοῖς δυσὶν γράμμασιν, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ τὸν σταυρόν. 9. οἶδεν ὁ τὴν ἔμφυτον δωρεὰν τῆς

⁴⁴ ἰῶτα δέκα, ἦτα ὀκτώ H (G): om. S: in duabus litteris L

believe. 4. But even the circumcision in which they trusted has been nullified. For he has said that circumcision is not a matter of the flesh. But they violated his law, because an evil angel instructed them. 5. He says to them, "Thus says the Lord your God" (here is where I find a commandment) "Do not sow among the thorns; be circumcised to your Lord."⁴⁹ And what does he say? "Circumcise your hardened hearts and do not harden your necks."⁵⁰ Or consider again, "See, says the Lord, all the nations are uncircumcised in their foreskins, but this people is uncircumcised in their hearts."⁵¹ 6. But you will say, "Yet surely the people have been circumcised as a seal [*of the covenant*]." But every Syrian and Arab and all the priests of the idols are circumcised as well. So then, do those belong to their covenant? Even the people of Egypt are circumcised! 7. Thus learn about the whole matter fully, children of love. For Abraham, the first to perform circumcision, was looking ahead in the Spirit to Jesus when he circumcised. For he received the firm teachings of the three letters. 8. For it says, "Abraham circumcised eighteen and three hundred men from his household."⁵² What knowledge, then, was given to him? Notice that first he mentions the eighteen and then, after a pause, the three hundred. The number eighteen [in Greek] consists of an Iota [J], 10, and an Eta [E], 8. There you have Jesus.⁵³ And because the cross was about to have grace in the letter Tau [T], he next gives the three hundred, Tau. And so he shows the name Jesus by the first two letters, and the cross by the other. 9. For the one who has placed the implanted gift of

⁴⁹ Jer 4:3–4.

⁵⁰ Cf. Deut 10:16.

⁵¹ Jer 9:26.

⁵² Cf. Gen 14:14; 17:23.

⁵³ I.e., the number eighteen in Greek is JE, taken here as an abbreviation for the name "Jesus."

διαθήκης⁴⁵ αὐτοῦ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν. οὐδεὶς γνησιώτερον ἔμαθεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ λόγον· ἀλλὰ οἶδα, ὅτι ἄξιοί ἐστε ὑμεῖς.

10

Ὅτι δὲ Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν· οὐ φάγεσθε χοῖρον οὔτε ἀετὸν οὔτε ὀξύπτερον οὔτε κόρακα οὔτε πάντα ἰχθύς, ὃς οὐκ ἔχει λεπίδα ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τρία ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ συνέσει⁴⁶ δόγματα. 2. πέρας γέ τοι λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ· καὶ διαθήσομαι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον τὰ δικαιώματά μου. ἄρα οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντολὴ θεοῦ τὸ μὴ τρώγειν, Μωϋσῆς δὲ ἐν πνεύματι ἐλάλησεν. 3. τὸ οὖν χοιρίον πρὸς τοῦτο εἶπεν· οὐ μὴ κολληθήσῃ, φησὶν, ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις, οἵτινές εἰσιν ὅμοιοι χοίροις· τουτέστιν ὅταν σπαταλῶσιν, ἐπιλανθάνονται τοῦ κυρίου, ὅταν δὲ ὑστεροῦνται, ἐπιγινώσκουσιν τὸν κύριον, ὡς καὶ ὁ χοῖρος, ὅταν τρώγει, τὸν κύριον οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅταν δὲ πεινᾷ, κραυγάζει, καὶ λαβὼν πάλιν σιωπᾷ. 4. οὐδὲ φάγη τὸν ἀετὸν οὐδὲ τὸν ὀξύπτερον οὐδὲ τὸν ἰκτίνα οὐδὲ τὸν κόρακα· οὐ μὴ, φησὶν, κολληθήσῃ οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήσῃ⁴⁷ ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις, οἵτινες οὐκ οἶδασιν διὰ κόπον καὶ ἰδρώτους πορίζειν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν τροφήν, ἀλλὰ ἀρπάζουσιν τὰ ἀλλότρια ἐν ἀνομίᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιτηροῦσιν ὡς ἐν ἀκεραιοσύνῃ

⁴⁵ διαθήκης S H: διδαχῆς G L ⁴⁶ συνέσει S G: συν-
ειδήσει H L ⁴⁷ οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήσῃ: om. G

his covenant in us knew these things. No one has learned a more reliable lesson from me. But I know that you are worthy.

10

And when Moses said, “Do not eat the pig, or the eagle, or the hawk, or the crow, or any fish without scales,”⁵⁴ he received three firm teachings in his understanding. 2. Moreover, he said to them in the book of Deuteronomy, “I will establish a covenant with this people in my righteous demands.”⁵⁵ So, then, the commandment of God is not a matter of avoiding food; but Moses spoke in the Spirit. 3. This is why he spoke about the pig: “Do not cling,” he says, “to such people, who are like pigs.” That is to say, when they live in luxury, they forget the Lord, but when they are in need, they remember the Lord. This is just like the pig: when it is eating, it does not know its master, but when hungry, it cries out—until it gets its food, and then is silent again. 4. “And do not eat the eagle, the hawk, the kite, or the crow.”⁵⁶ “You must not,” he says, “cling to such people or be like them, people who do not know how to procure food for themselves through toil and sweat, but by their lawless behavior seize food that belongs to others. And they are always on the watch, strolling about with ostensi-

⁵⁴ Cf. Lev 11:7–15; Deut 14:8–14.

⁵⁵ Cf. Deut 4:10, 13.

⁵⁶ Cf. Lev 11:13–16.

περιπατοῦντες καὶ περιβλέπονται, τίνα ἐκδύσωσιν διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ὡς καὶ τὰ ὄρνεα ταῦτα μόνα ἑαυτοῖς οὐ πορίζει τὴν τροφήν, ἀλλὰ ἀργὰ καθήμενα ἐκζητεῖ,⁴⁸ πῶς ἀλλοτρίας σάρκας καταφάγη, ὄντα λοιμὰ τῇ πονηρίᾳ αὐτῶν. 5. καὶ οὐ φάγη, φησὶν, σμύραιναν ὑδὲ πολύποδα οὐδὲ σηπίαν· οὐ μὴ, φησὶν, ὁμοιωθήσῃ⁴⁹ ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις, οἵτινες εἰς τέλος εἰσὶν ἀσεβεῖς καὶ κεκριμένοι ἤδη τῷ θανάτῳ, ὡς καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἰχθύδια μόνα ἐπικατάρата ἐν τῷ βυθῷ νήχεται, μὴ κολυμβῶντα ὡς τὰ λοιπά, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ γῇ κάτω τοῦ βυθοῦ κατοικεῖ. 6. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δασύποδα οὐ φάγη· πρὸς τί; οὐ μὴ γένῃ, φησὶν, παιδοφθόρος οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήσῃ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ὅτι ὁ λαγῶδς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πλεονεκτεῖ τὴν ἀφόδευσιν· ὅσα γὰρ ἔτη ζῇ, τοσαύτας ἔχει τρύπας. 7. ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ τὴν ὕαιναν φάγη· οὐ μὴ, φησὶν, γένῃ μοιχὸς οὐδὲ φθορεὺς οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήσῃ τοῖς τοιούτοις. πρὸς τί; ὅτι τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀλλάσσει τὴν φύσιν καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἄρρεν, ποτὲ δὲ θῆλυ γίνεται. 8. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γαλῆν ἐμίσησεν καλῶς. οὐ μὴ, φησὶν, γεννηθῇς τοιούτος, οἷους ἀκούομεν ἀνομίαν ποιοῦντας ἐν τῷ στόματι δι' ἀκαθαρσίαν, οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ταῖς ἀκαθάρτοις ταῖς τὴν ἀνομίαν ποιούσαις ἐν τῷ στόματι. τὸ γὰρ ζῶον τοῦτο τῷ στόματι κύει. 9. περὶ μὲν τῶν βρωμάτων λαβὼν Μωϋσῆς τρία δόγματα οὕτως ἐν πνεύματι ἐλάλησεν· οἱ δὲ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς σαρκὸς ὡς περὶ βρώσεως προσ-

ble innocence, but looking to see what they can plunder because of their greed." For these are the only birds that do not procure their own food, but sit by idly, waiting to see how they might devour the flesh procured by others, being pestilent in their evil. 5. "And do not," he says, "eat the lamprey-eel, the octopus, or the cuttlefish."⁵⁷ "You must not," he says, "be like such people, who are completely impious and condemned already to death." For these fish alone are cursed and hover in the depths, not swimming like the others but dwelling in the mud beneath the depths. 6. But also "do not eat the hare."⁵⁸ For what reason? "You must not," he says, "be one who corrupts children or be like such people." For the rabbit adds an orifice every year; it has as many holes as years it has lived. 7. "Nor shall you eat the hyena."⁵⁹ "You must not," he says, "be an adulterer or a pervert nor be like such people." For what reason? Because this animal changes its nature every year, at one time it is male, the next time female. 8. And he has fully hated the weasel. "You must not," he says, "be like those who are reputed to perform a lawless deed in their mouth because of their uncleanness, nor cling to unclean women who perform the lawless deed in their mouth." For this animal conceives with its mouth. 9. And so, Moses received the three firm teachings about food and spoke in the Spirit. But they received his words according to the desires of their own flesh, as if he were actually speaking

⁵⁷ Source unknown.

⁵⁸ Cf. Lev 11:6.

⁵⁹ Source unknown.

⁴⁸ περιβλέπονται . . . ἐκζητεῖ S (H): καθήμενα ἀργὰ ταῦτα ἐκζητεῖ G ⁴⁹ ὁμοιωθήσῃ S H: add κολλώμενος G L

εδέξαντο. 10. λαμβάνει δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τριῶν δογμάτων γνῶσιν Δαυὶδ καὶ λέγει ὁμοίως· μακάριος ἀνὴρ, ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες πορεύονται ἐν σκότει εἰς τὰ βάθη· καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ ἀμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἔστη, καθὼς οἱ δοκοῦντες φοβεῖσθαι τὸν κύριον ἀμαρτάνουσιν ὡς ὁ χοῖρος, καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδραν λοιμῶν ἐκάθισεν, καθὼς τὰ πετεινὰ καθήμενα εἰς ἀρπαγὴν. ἔχετε τελείως καὶ περὶ τῆς βρώσεως.⁵⁰ 11. πάλιν λέγει Μωϋσῆς· φάγεσθε πᾶν διχηλοῦν καὶ μαρυνκόμενον. τί λέγει; ὅτι τὴν τροφὴν λαμβάνων οἶδεν τὸν τρέφοντα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀναπαυόμενος εὐφραίνεισθαι δοκεῖ. καλῶς εἶπεν βλέπων τὴν ἐντολήν. τί οὖν λέγει; κολλᾶσθε μετὰ τῶν φοβουμένων τὸν κύριον, μετὰ τῶν μελετώντων ὃ ἔλαβον διάσταλμα ῥήματος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, μετὰ τῶν λαλούντων τὰ δικαιώματα κυρίου καὶ τηρούντων, μετὰ τῶν εἰδότων, ὅτι ἡ μελέτη ἐστὶν ἔργον εὐφροσύνης, καὶ ἀναμαρυνκόμενων τὸν λόγον κυρίου. τί δὲ τὸ διχηλοῦν; ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιπατεῖ καὶ τὸν ἅγιον αἰῶνα ἐκδέχεται. βλέπετε, πῶς ἐνομοθέτησεν Μωϋσῆς καλῶς; 12. ἀλλὰ πόθεν ἐκείνοις ταῦτα νοῆσαι ἢ συνιέναι; ἡμεῖς δὲ δικαίως νοήσαντες τὰς ἐντολὰς⁵¹ λαλοῦμεν, ὡς ἠθέλησεν ὁ κύριος. διὰ τοῦτο περιέτεμεν τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς καρδίας, ἵνα συνιῶμεν ταῦτα.

⁵⁰ βρώσεως: γνώσεως G

⁵¹ ἐντολὰς: add δικαίως S

about food. 10. And David received the knowledge of the same three firm teachings and spoke in a similar way: "How fortunate is the man who does not proceed in the counsel of the impious" (like the fish who proceed in darkness in the depths) "and does not stand in the path of sinners" (like those who appear to fear God but sin like the pig) "and does not sit in the seat of the pestilent"⁶⁰ (like the birds who sit waiting for something to seize). Here you have a perfect lesson about food. 11. Again Moses said, "Eat every animal with a split hoof and that chews the cud."⁶¹ What does he mean? He means that the one who receives food knows who has provided it and appears to be glad, having relied on him. He spoke well, looking to the commandment. What does he mean then? Cling to those who fear the Lord, to those who meditate on the special meaning of the teaching they have received in their heart, to those who discuss and keep the upright demands of the Lord, to those who know that meditation is a work that produces gladness, and to those who carefully chew over the word of the Lord. But why does he mention the split hoof? Because the one who is upright both walks in this world and waits for the holy age. Do you see how well Moses has given the Law? 12. But how could they know or understand these things? We, however, speak as those who know the commandments in an upright way, as the Lord wished. For this reason he circumcised our hearing and our hearts, that we may understand these things.

⁶⁰ Ps 1:1.

⁶¹ Cf. Lev 11:3; Deut 14:6.

Ζητήσωμεν δέ, εἰ ἐμέλησεν τῷ κυρίῳ προφανερῶσαι
περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ. περὶ μὲν τοῦ
ὕδατος γέγραπται ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραήλ, πῶς τὸ βάπτισμα
τὸ φέρον ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν οὐ μὴ προσδέξονται, ἀλλ'
ἐαυτοῖς οἰκοδομήσουσιν. 2. λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης·
ἔκστηθι οὐρανέ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πλείον φριξάτω ἡ γῆ,
ὅτι δύο καὶ πονηρὰ ἐποίησεν ὁ λαὸς οὗτος· ἐμὲ ἐγκατ-
έλιπον, πηγὴν ζωῆς,⁵² καὶ ἐαυτοῖς ὠρυξαν βόθρον
θανάτου.⁵³ 3. μὴ πέτρα ἔρημός ἐστιν τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιόν
μου Σινᾶ; ἔσεσθε γὰρ ὡς πετεινοῦ νοσσοὶ ἀνιπτάμενοι
νοσσιᾶς ἀφηρημένοι.⁵⁴ 4. καὶ πάλιν λέγει ὁ προ-
φήτης· ἐγὼ πορεύσομαι ἔμπροσθέν σου καὶ ὄρη
ὁμαλῶ καὶ πύλας⁵⁵ χαλκᾶς συντρίψω καὶ μοχλοὺς
σιδηροὺς συνκλάσω, καὶ δώσω σοι θησαυροὺς σκο-
τεινοὺς, ἀποκρύφους, ἀοράτους, ἵνα γνῶσιν, ὅτι ἐγὼ
κύριος ὁ θεός. 5. καί·⁵⁶ κατοικήσεις ἐν ὑψηλῷ σπη-
λαίῳ πέτρας ἰσχυρᾶς, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῦ πιστόν·
βασιλέα μετὰ δόξης ὄψεσθε, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν μελετή-
σει φόβον κυρίου. 6. καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλῳ προφήτῃ
λέγει· καὶ ἔσται ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ
πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων, ὃ τὸν
καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ φύλλον
αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορνήσεται, καὶ πάντα ὅσα αὐτὸν ποιῇ

⁵² ζωῆς S: ζῶσαν G: ὕδατος ζῶσαν H: ὕδατος ζωῆς L

⁵³ βόθρον θανάτου S H: λάκκους συντετριμμένους G

But we should look closely to see if the Lord was concerned to reveal anything in advance about the water and the cross. On the one hand, it is written about the water that Israel will not at all accept the baptism that brings forgiveness of sins, but will create something in its place for themselves. 2. For the prophet says, "Be astounded, O heaven, and shudder even more at this, O earth. For this people has done two wicked things: they have deserted me, the fountain of life, and dug for themselves a pit of death. 3. Is my holy mountain, Sinai, a rock that has been abandoned? For you will be like young birds who flutter about after being taken from their nest."⁶² 4. Again the prophet says, "I will go before you to flatten mountains, crush gates of bronze, and smash bars of iron, and I will give you treasures that are dark, hidden, and unseen, that they may know that I am the Lord God."⁶³ 5. And, "You will dwell in a high cave, built of solid rock, and its water will not fail. You will see a king with glory, and your soul will meditate on the reverential fear of the Lord."⁶⁴ 6. Again in another prophet he says, "The one who does these things will be like a tree planted beside springs of water; it will produce its fruit in its season, and its leaf will not fall,

⁶² Jer 2:12-13; cf. Isa 16:1-2.

⁶³ Cf. Isa 45:2-3.

⁶⁴ Cf. Isa 33:16-18.

⁵⁴ ἀφηρημένοι S H: -μένης G L

⁵⁵ πύλας S H: θύρας G L

⁵⁶ καὶ S H L: εἶτα τί λέγει ἐν τῷ υἱῷ G

κατενοδωθήσεται. 7. οὐχ οὕτως οἱ ἀσεβεῖς, οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἢ ὡς ὁ χνοῦς, ὃν ἐκρίπτει ὁ ἄνεμος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς. διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναστήσονται ἀσεβεῖς ἐν κρίσει οὐδὲ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐν βουλῇ δικαίων, ὅτι γινώσκει κύριος ὁδὸν δικαίων, καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολείται. 8. αἰσθάνεσθε, πῶς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὥρισεν. τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει· μακάριοις, οἳ ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐλπίσαντες κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, ὅτι τὸν μὲν μισθὸν λέγει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ· τότε, φησὶν, ἀποδώσω. νῦν δὲ ὁ λέγει· τὰ φύλλα οὐκ ἀπορνήσεται. τοῦτο λέγει· ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα, ὃ ἐὰν ἐξελεύσεται ἐξ ὑμῶν διὰ τοῦ στόματος ὑμῶν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, ἔσται εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ ἐλπίδα πολλοῖς. 9. καὶ πάλιν ἕτερος προφήτης λέγει· καὶ ἦν ἡ γῆ τοῦ Ἰακώβ ἐπαινουμένη παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. τοῦτο λέγει· τὸ σκεῦος τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ δοξάζει. 10. εἶτα τί λέγει; καὶ ἦν ποταμὸς ἔλκων ἐκ δεξιῶν, καὶ ἀνέβαινεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δένδρα ὠραῖα· καὶ ὃς ἂν φάγη ἐξ αὐτῶν, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. 11. τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ γέμοντες ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ῥύπον, καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἔχοντες. καὶ ὃς ἂν φάγη ἀπὸ τούτων, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. τοῦτο λέγει· ὃς ἂν, φησὶν, ἀκούσῃ τούτων λαλουμένων καὶ πιστεύσῃ, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

and everything it does will prosper. 7. Not so with the impious, not so; but they will be like chaff driven by the wind from the face of the earth. For this reason the impious will not rise up in judgment nor sinners in the counsel of the upright; for the Lord knows the path of the upright, but the path of the impious will perish.”⁶⁵ 8. Notice how he describes the water and the cross in the same place. He means this: how fortunate are those who went down into the water hoping in the cross, for he indicates the reward will come “in its season.” “At that time,” he says, “I will pay it.” Now when he says, “the leaves will not fall,” he means that every word your mouth utters in faith and love will lead many to convert and hope. 9. And again another prophet says, “The land of Jacob was praised more than every other land.” This means that he glorifies the vessel of his Spirit. 10. What does he say then? “And a river was flowing from the right side, and beautiful trees were rising up from it. Whoever eats from them will live forever.”⁶⁶ 11. This means that we descend into the water full of sins and filth, but come up out of it bearing the fruit of reverential fear in our heart and having the hope in Jesus in our spirits [*Or: in the Spirit*]. And “whoever eats from these will live forever” means this: whoever, he says, hears and believes what has been said will live forever.

⁶⁵ Ps 1:3–6.

⁶⁶ Cf. Ezek 47:1–12.

Ὅμοίως πάλιν περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ὀρίζει ἐν ἄλλῳ προφήτῃ λέγοντι· καὶ πότε ταῦτα συντελεσθήσεται; λέγει κύριος· ὅταν ξύλον κλιθῇ καὶ ἀναστῇ, καὶ ὅταν ἐκ ξύλου αἷμα σταῇ. ἔχεις πάλιν περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦσθαι μέλλοντος. 2. λέγει δὲ πάλιν τῷ Μωϋσῇ, πολεμουμένου τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, καὶ ἵνα ὑπομνήσῃ αὐτοὺς πολεμουμένους, ὅτι διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθησαν εἰς θάνατον· λέγει εἰς τὴν καρδίαν Μωϋσέως τὸ πνεῦμα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ τύπον σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πάσχειν, ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ, φησὶν, ἐλπίσωσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα πολεμηθήσονται. τίθησιν οὖν Μωϋσῆς ἐν ἐφ' ἐν ὅπλον ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πυγμῆς, καὶ σταθεὶς ὑψηλότερος πάντων ἐξέτεινεν τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ οὕτως πάλιν ἐνίκα ὁ Ἰσραὴλ. εἶτα, ὁπότεν καθείλεν, πάλιν ἐθανατοῦντο. 3. πρὸς τί; ἵνα γνῶσιν, ὅτι οὐ δύνανται σωθῆναι ἐὰν μὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐλπίσωσιν. 4. καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἐτέρῳ προφήτῃ λέγει· ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα ὁδῷ δικαίᾳ μου. 5. πάλιν Μωϋσῆς ποιεῖ τύπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν παθεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς ζωοποιήσῃ⁵⁷—ὃν δόξουσιν⁵⁸ ἀπολωλεκέναι—ἐν σημείῳ, πίπτοντος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. ἐποίησεν γὰρ κύριος πάντα ὅφιν δάκνειν αὐτούς, καὶ

⁵⁷ αὐτὸς ζωοποιήσῃ S L: αὐτὸν ζωοποιήσουσιν G: παθόντα ζωοποιῆσαι H ⁵⁸ ὃν δόξουσιν S G: ἐνδοξάζουσιν H

In a similar way he makes another declaration about the cross in another prophet, who says, “When will these things be fulfilled?” says the Lord. ‘When a tree falls and rises up, and when blood flows from a tree.’”⁶⁷ Again you have a message about the cross and the one who was about to be crucified. 2. And he again tells Moses, when Israel was attacked by a foreign people, to remind those under assault that they were being handed over to death because of their sins. The Spirit speaks to the heart of Moses that he should make a type of the cross and of the one who was about to suffer, that they might realize, he says, that if they refused to hope in him, they would be attacked forever. And so Moses stacked weapons one on the other in the midst of the battle, and standing high above all the people he began stretching out his hands; and so Israel again gained the victory. But then, when he lowered his hands, they began to be killed.⁶⁸ 3. Why was that? So that they may know that they cannot be saved unless they hope in him. 4. And again in another prophet he says, “All day long I have stretched out my hands to a disobedient people that opposes my upright path.”⁶⁹ 5. Again Moses makes a type of Jesus, showing that he had to suffer and that he will again give life—this one whom they will think they have destroyed. This type came in a sign given when Israel was falling. For the Lord made every serpent bite them and

⁶⁷ 4 Ezra 4:33; 5:5.

⁶⁸ Cf. Exod 17:8–13.

⁶⁹ Cf. Isa 65:2.

ἀπέθνησκον (ἐπειδὴ ἡ παράβασις διὰ τοῦ ὄφεως ἐν Εὐᾷ ἐγένετο), ἵνα ἐλέγξῃ αὐτούς, ὅτι διὰ τὴν παράβασιν αὐτῶν εἰς θλῖψιν θανάτου παραδοθήσονται.

6. πέρας γέ τοι αὐτὸς Μωϋσῆς ἐντειλάμενος· οὐκ ἔσται ὑμῖν οὔτε χωνευτὸν οὔτε γλυπτὸν εἰς θεὸν ὑμῖν, αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, ἵνα τύπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ δείξῃ. ποιεῖ οὖν Μωϋσῆς χαλκοῦν ὄφιν καὶ τίθησιν ἐνδόξως⁵⁹ καὶ κηρύγματι καλεῖ τὸν λαόν. 7. ἐλθόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐδέοντο Μωϋσέως, ἵνα περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνενέγκῃ δέξιν περὶ τῆς ἰάσεως αὐτῶν. εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς Μωϋσῆς· ὅταν, φησὶν, δηχθῇ τις ὑμῶν, ἐλθέτω ἐπὶ τὸν ὄφιν⁶⁰ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου ἐπικείμενον καὶ ἐλπισάτω πιστεύσας, ὅτι αὐτὸς ὢν νεκρὸς δύναται ζωοποιῆσαι, καὶ παραχρήμα σωθήσεται. καὶ οὕτως ἐποίουν. ἔχεις πάλιν καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ εἰς αὐτόν. 8. τί λέγει πάλιν Μωϋσῆς Ἰησοῦ, υἱῷ Ναυή, ἐπιθεὶς αὐτῷ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὅντι προφήτῃ, ἵνα μόνον ἀκούσῃ πᾶς ὁ λαός; ὅτι πάντα ὁ πατὴρ φανεροῖ περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰησοῦ.⁶¹ 9. λέγει οὖν Μωϋσῆς Ἰησοῦ, υἱῷ Ναυή,⁶² ἐπιθεὶς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὁπότε ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν κατάσκοπον τῆς γῆς· λάβε βιβλίον εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου καὶ γράψον, ἃ λέγει κύριος, ὅτι ἐκκόψει ἐκ ῥιζῶν τὸν οἶκον πάντα τοῦ Ἀμαλήκ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν. 10. ἴδε⁶³ πάλιν

⁵⁹ ἐνδόξως S H G: *in cruce* L

⁶⁰ ὄφιν: add τὸν νεκρὸν H ⁶¹ Ἰησοῦ: add υἱὼν ναυῆ G

⁶² λέγει . . . Ναυή S H L: καὶ G

⁶³ ἴδε: εἶδε S: εἰ δὲ G

they were dying (since the act of transgression came by Eve through the serpent). This was to convince them that they will be handed over to the affliction of death because of their transgression. 6. Moreover, even though Moses himself issued this command—"You will have no molten or carved image as your god"⁷⁰—he himself made one, that he might show forth a type of Jesus. And so Moses made a bronze serpent and displayed it prominently, and he called the people through a proclamation. 7. And when they came together they begged Moses to offer up a prayer on their behalf, that they might be healed. But Moses said to them, "When any of you is bitten, come to the serpent that is displayed on the tree and hope, in faith, that even though dead, it can restore a person to life; and you will then immediately be saved [*or healed*]." And they did this.⁷¹ Again you have the glory of Jesus in these things, for everything is in him and for him. 8. Again, why does Moses say to Jesus the son of Naue [*Or: Joshua the son of Nun; Jesus is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew name Joshua*], when he gave this name to him who was a prophet, that all the people should listen to him alone? Because the Father reveals everything about his Son Jesus. 9. And so, after Moses gave Jesus the son of Naue this name, he sent him as a reconnaissance scout over the land and said, "Take a small book in your hands and record what the Lord says, that in the last days the Son of God will chop down the entire house of Amalek at its roots."⁷² 10. Again you see Jesus,

⁷⁰ Cf. Lev 26:1; Deut 27:15.

⁷¹ Cf. Num 21:4–8.

⁷² Cf. Exod 17:14.

Ἰησοῦς, οὐχὶ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, τύπῳ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθείς. ἐπεὶ οὖν μέλλουσιν λέγειν ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς υἱὸς ἐστὶν Δαυὶδ, αὐτὸς προφητεύει Δαυίδ, φοβούμενος καὶ συνίων τὴν πλάνην τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν· εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. 11. καὶ πάλιν λέγει οὕτως Ἡσαΐας· εἶπεν κύριος τῷ Χριστῷ μου κυρίῳ,⁶⁴ οὗ ἐκράτησα τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ, ἐπακοῦσαι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἔθνη, καὶ ἰσχὺν βασιλέων διαρρήξω. ἴδε, πῶς Δαυὶδ λέγει αὐτὸν κύριον, καὶ υἱὸν οὐ⁶⁵ λέγει.

13

Ἰδωμεν δέ, εἰ οὗτος ὁ λαὸς κληρονομεῖ ἢ ὁ πρῶτος, καὶ εἰ ἡ διαθήκη εἰς ἡμᾶς ἢ εἰς ἐκείνους. 2. ἀκούσατε οὖν περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή· ἐδεῖτο δὲ Ἰσαὰκ περὶ Ῥεβέκκας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ὅτι στεῖρα ἦν· καὶ συνέλαβεν.⁶⁶ εἶτα· καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Ῥεβέκκα πνυθέσθαι παρὰ κυρίου, καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς αὐτήν· δύο ἔθνη ἐν τῇ γαστρί σου καὶ δύο λαοὶ ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ σου, καὶ λαὸς λαοῦ ὑπερέξει καὶ ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι. 3. αἰσθάνεσθαι ὀφείλετε, τίς ὁ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ τίς ἡ Ῥεβέκκα, καὶ ἐπὶ τίνων δέδειχεν, ὅτι μείζων ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἢ ἐκεῖνος. 4. καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ προφητείᾳ λέγει

⁶⁴ τῷ Χριστῷ μου κυρίῳ (G) L (S**): τῷ κυρίῳ μου S* H

⁶⁵ οὐ H L: θεοῦ S G

⁶⁶ συνέλαβεν: οὐ συνέλαβεν H

not as son of man but as Son of God, manifest here in the flesh as a type. And so, since they are about to say that the Christ is the son of David, David himself speaks a prophecy in reverential awe, understanding the error of the sinners, "The Lord said to my Lord, 'Sit at my right side until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet.'" ⁷³ 11. And again Isaiah says the following: "The Lord said to Christ my Lord, 'I have grasped his right hand that the nations will obey him, and I will shatter the power of kings.'" ⁷⁴ See how David calls him Lord; he does not call him son.

13

Now let us see whether it is this people or the first one that receives the inheritance, and whether the covenant is for us or them. 2. Hear what the Scripture says concerning the people, "Isaac prayed for Rebecca his wife, because she was infertile. And then she conceived." Then, "Rebecca went to inquire of the Lord, and the Lord said to her, 'There are two nations in your womb and two peoples in your belly, and one people will dominate the other and the greater will serve the lesser.'" ⁷⁵ 3. You ought to perceive who Isaac represents and who Rebecca, and whom he means when he shows that this people is greater than that one. 4. In another prophecy Jacob speaks more plainly to

⁷³ Ps 110:1.

⁷⁴ Cf. Isa 45:1.

⁷⁵ Cf. Gen 25:21-23.

φανερώτερον ὁ Ἰακῶβ πρὸς Ἰωσήφ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, λέγων· ἰδού, οὐκ ἐστέρησέν με κύριος τοῦ προσώπου σου· προσάγαγέ μοι τοὺς υἱούς σου, ἵνα εὐλογήσω αὐτούς. 5. καὶ προσήγαγεν Ἐφραὶμ καὶ Μανασσῆ, τὸν Μανασσῆ θέλων⁶⁷ ἵνα εὐλογηθῇ,⁶⁸ ὅτι πρεσβύτερος ἦν· ὁ γὰρ Ἰωσήφ προσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰακώβ. εἶδεν δὲ Ἰακῶβ τύπον τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ μεταξύ. καὶ τί λέγει; καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἰακῶβ ἐναλλαξ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπέθηκεν τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἐφραὶμ, τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ νεωτέρου, καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτόν. καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ πρὸς Ἰακώβ· μετὰθες σου τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Μανασσῆ,⁶⁹ ὅτι πρωτότοκός μου υἱός ἐστιν. καὶ εἶπεν Ἰακῶβ πρὸς Ἰωσήφ· οἶδα, τέκνον, οἶδα· ἀλλ' ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι, καὶ οὗτος δὲ εὐλογηθήσεται. 6. βλέπετε, ἐπὶ τίνων τέθεικεν, τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον εἶναι πρῶτον καὶ τῆς διαθήκης κληρονόμον. 7. εἰ οὖν ἔτι καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐμνήσθη, ἀπέχομεν τὸ τέλειον τῆς γνώσεως ἡμῶν. τί οὖν λέγει τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ὅτε μόνος πιστεύσας ἐτέθη εἰς δικαιοσύνην; ἰδού, τέθεικά σε, Ἀβραάμ, πατέρα ἐθνῶν τῶν πιστευόντων δι' ἀκροβυστίας τῷ θεῷ.

Ναί. ἀλλὰ ἴδωμεν, εἰ ἡ διαθήκη,⁷⁰ ἣν ὥμοσεν τοῖς πατράσιν δοῦναι τῷ λαῷ, εἰ δέδωκεν. ζητῶμεν. δέδω-

Joseph his son, when he says, "See, the Lord has not kept me from your presence. Bring your sons to me that I may bless them."⁷⁶ 5. He brought Ephraim and Manasseh, wanting him to bless Manasseh since he was the elder. So Joseph brought him to the right hand of his father Jacob. But Jacob saw in the Spirit a type of the people who was to come later. And what does it say? "Jacob crossed his hands and placed his right hand on the head of Ephraim, the second and younger, and blessed him. And Joseph said to Jacob, 'Switch your right hand onto Manasseh's head, because he is my firstborn son.' Jacob said to Joseph, 'I know, my child, I know. But the greater will serve the lesser, and it is this one who will be blessed.'"⁷⁷ 6. You see about whom he has decreed, that this people will be first, and the heir of the covenant. 7. And if this is also brought to mind through Abraham, we maintain that our knowledge is now perfect. What then does he say to Abraham, when he alone believed and was appointed for righteousness? "See, Abraham, I have made you a father of the nations who believe in God while uncircumcised."⁷⁸

14

Yes indeed. But we should see if he has given the covenant that he swore to the fathers he would give the people. Let

⁷⁶ Gen 48:11, 9.

⁷⁷ Cf. Gen 48:14, 19.

⁷⁸ Cf. Gen 15:6; 17:4.

⁶⁷ τὸν Μανασσῆ θέλων H G: θέλων τὸν Ἐφραίμ S

⁶⁸ εὐλογήσῃ S ⁶⁹ Μανασσῆ: Ἐφραίμ S

⁷⁰ ἴδωμεν εἰ ἡ διαθήκη S H: τὴν διαθήκην G L

κεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐγένοντο ἄξιοι λαβεῖν διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν. 2. λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης· καὶ ἦν Μωϋσῆς νηστεύων ἐν ὄρει Σινᾶ, τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν διαθήκην κυρίου πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσαράκοντα. καὶ ἔλαβεν Μωϋσῆς παρὰ κυρίου τὰς δύο πλάκας τὰς γεγραμμένας τῷ δακτύλῳ τῆς χειρὸς κυρίου ἐν πνεύματι· καὶ λαβὼν Μωϋσῆς κατέφερεν πρὸς τὸν λαὸν δοῦναι. 3. καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωϋσῆν· Μωϋσῆ Μωϋσῆ, κατάβηθι τὸ τάχος, ὅτι ὁ λαὸς σου, ὃν ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἠνόμησεν. καὶ συνῆκεν Μωϋσῆς, ὅτι ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς πάλιν χωνεύματα, καὶ ἔρριψεν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τὰς πλάκας,⁷¹ καὶ συνετρίβησαν αἱ πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου. 4. Μωϋσῆς μὲν ἔλαβεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐγένοντο ἄξιοι. πῶς δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐλάβομεν, μάθετε. Μωϋσῆς θεράπων ὢν ἔλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν, εἰς λαὸν κληρονομίας, δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνας. 5. ἐφανερώθη δέ, ἵνα κακῆνοι τελειωθῶσιν τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν, καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦ κληρονομούντος διαθήκην κυρίου Ἰησοῦ λάβωμεν, ὃς εἰς τοῦτο ἡτοιμάσθη, ἵνα αὐτὸς φανείς, τὰς ἤδη δεδαπανημένας ἡμῶν καρδίας⁷² τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ παραδεδομένας τῇ τῆς πλάνης ἀνομίᾳ λυτρωσάμενος ἐκ τοῦ σκότους, διάθῃται ἐν ἡμῖν διαθήκην λόγῳ. 6. γέγραπται γάρ, πῶς αὐτῷ ὁ πατήρ ἐντέλλεται, λυτρωσάμενον ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότους ἐτοιμάσαι ἑαυτῷ λαὸν ἅγιον. 7. λέγει οὖν ὁ προφήτης·

⁷¹ τὰς πλάκας S* G L: om. S* H

us pursue the question. He has given it, but they were not worthy to receive it because of their sins. 2. For the prophet says, "Moses was fasting on Mount Sinai for forty days and forty nights, that he might receive the covenant of the Lord for the people. And Moses received from the Lord the two tablets written with the finger of the Lord's hand in the Spirit."⁷⁹ When Moses received them he brought them down to give to the people. 3. And the Lord said to Moses, "Moses, Moses, go down at once, because your people, whom you brought out of the land of Egypt, has broken the Law." Moses understood that they had again made molten images for themselves, and he hurled the tablets from his hands. And the tablets of the Lord's covenant were smashed.⁸⁰ 4. So Moses received the covenant, but they were not worthy. Now learn how we have received it. Moses received it as a servant, but the Lord himself gave it to us, as a people of the inheritance, by enduring suffering for us. 5. He was made manifest so that those people might be completely filled with sins, and that we might receive the covenant through the Lord Jesus, who inherited it. He was prepared for this end, that when he became manifest he might make a covenant with us by his word, after redeeming our hearts from darkness, hearts that were already paid out to death and given over to the lawlessness of deceit. 6. For it is written how the Father commanded him to prepare for himself a holy people after he redeemed us from darkness. 7. And so the prophet says,

⁷⁹ Cf. Exod. 24:18; 31:18.

⁸⁰ Cf. Exod 32:7–19.

⁷² καρδίας: κακίας G

ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐκάλεσά σε ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ κρατήσω τῆς χειρός σου καὶ ἐνίσχύσω σε, καὶ ἔδωκά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους, εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν, ἀνοίξαι ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλῶν καὶ ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ δεσμῶν πεπεδημένους καὶ ἐξ οἴκου φυλακῆς καθημένους ἐν σκότει. γινώσκουμεν οὖν πόθεν ἐλυτρώθημεν. 8. πάλιν ὁ προφήτης λέγει· ἰδού, τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν, τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς· οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ λυτρωσάμενός σε θεός. 9. καὶ πάλιν ὁ προφήτης λέγει· πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με εὐαγγελίσασθαι ταπεινοῖς χάριν,⁷³ ἀπέσταλκέν⁷⁴ με ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν, κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν, καλέσαι ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτὸν καὶ ἡμέραν ἀνταποδόσεως, παρακαλέσαι πάντας τοὺς πενθοῦντας.

15

Ἔτι οὖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ σαββάτου γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς δέκα λόγοις, ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ πρὸς Μωϋσῆν κατὰ πρόσωπον· καὶ ἀγιάσατε τὸ σάββατον κυρίου χερσὶν καθααῖς καὶ καρδίᾳ καθαρᾷ. 2. καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ λέγει· ἐὰν φυλάξωσιν οἱ υἱοί μου τὸ σάββατον, τότε ἐπιθήσω τὸ ἔλεός μου ἐπ' αὐτούς. 3. τὸ σάββατον λέγει ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς κτίσεως· καὶ

⁷³ ταπεινοῖς χάριν G: πτωχοῖς S: hominibus L: om. H

BARNABAS 15

“I the Lord your God called you in righteousness; and I will grasp your hand and strengthen you. I have given you as a covenant of the people, as a light to the nations, to open the eyes of the blind, to bring out of their bondage those in shackles and out of prison those who sit in darkness.”⁸¹ And so we know the place from which we have been redeemed. 8. Again the prophet says, “See, I have set you as a light to the nations that you may bring salvation to the end of the earth; so says the Lord God who redeems you.”⁸² 9. Again the prophet says, “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he anointed me to preach the good news of grace to the humble; he sent me to heal those whose hearts are crushed, to proclaim a release to the captives and renewed sight to the blind, to call out the acceptable year of the Lord and the day of recompense, to comfort all those who mourn.”⁸³

15

Something is also written about the Sabbath in the ten commandments, which God spoke to Moses face to face on Mount Sinai: “Make the Sabbath of the Lord holy, with pure hands and a pure heart.”⁸⁴ 2. In another place it says, “If my children keep the Sabbath, I will bestow my mercy on them.”⁸⁵ 3. This refers to the Sabbath at the beginning

⁸¹ Isa 42:6–7.

⁸² Cf. Isa 49:6–7.

⁸³ Isa 61:1–2.

⁸⁴ Cf. Exod 20:8; Deut 5:12.

⁸⁵ Cf. Jer 17:24–25.

⁷⁴ ἀπέσταλκέν με ἰάσασθαι: om. H

ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνετέλεσεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτήν. 4. προσέχετε, τέκνα, τί λέγει τὸ συνετέλεσεν ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις. τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι ἐν ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν συντελέσει κύριος τὰ σύμπαντα· ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ σημαίνει χίλια ἔτη. αὐτὸς δέ μοι μαρτυρεῖ λέγων· ἰδοὺ, ἡμέρα κυρίου ἔσται ὡς χίλια ἔτη. οὐκοῦν, τέκνα, ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις, ἐν τοῖς ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν, συντελεσθήσεται τὰ σύμπαντα. 5. καὶ κατέπαυσεν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ. τοῦτο λέγει· ὅταν ἐλθὼν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καταργήσῃ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἀνόμου καὶ κρινεῖ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀλλάξῃ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, τότε καλῶς καταπαύσεται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ. 6. πέρας γέ τοι λέγει· ἀγιάσεις αὐτήν χερσὶν καθαραῖς καὶ καρδίᾳ καθαρᾷ. εἰ οὖν ἦν ὁ θεὸς ἡμέραν ἡγίασεν νῦν τις δύναται ἀγιάσαι καθαρὸς⁷⁵ ὢν τῇ καρδίᾳ, ἐν πᾶσιν πεπλανήμεθα. 7. ἴδε,⁷⁶ ὅτι⁷⁷ ἄρα τότε καλῶς καταπαυόμενοι ἀγιάσομεν⁷⁸ αὐτήν, ὅτε δυνησόμεθα αὐτοὶ δικαιοθέντες καὶ ἀπολαβόντες τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, μηκέτι οὔσης τῆς ἀνομίας, καινῶν δὲ γεγονότων πάντων ὑπὸ κυρίου· τότε δυνησόμεθα αὐτήν ἀγιάσαι, αὐτοὶ ἀγιασθέντες πρῶτον. 8. πέρας γέ τοι λέγει αὐτοῖς· τὰς νεομηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σάββατα οὐκ ἀνέχομαι. ὁράτε πῶς λέγει· οὐ τὰ νῦν σάββατα

⁷⁵ καθαρὸς S* H: εἰ μὴ καθαρὸς G L S**

⁷⁶ ἴδε: εἶδε S* S**: εἰ δὲ H G: *videns* L

of creation: "God made the works of his hands in six days, and he finished on the seventh day; and he rested on it and made it holy."⁸⁶ 4. Pay attention, children, to what it means that "he finished in six days." This means that in six thousand years the Lord will complete all things. For with him a day represents a thousand years. He himself testifies that I am right, when he says, "See, a day of the Lord will be like a thousand years."⁸⁷ And so, children, all things will be completed in six days—that is to say, in six thousand years. 5. "And he rested on the seventh day." This means that when his Son comes he will put an end to the age of the lawless one, judge the impious, and alter the sun, moon, and stars; then he will indeed rest on the seventh day. 6. Moreover, it says, "Make it holy with pure hands and a pure heart." We are very much mistaken if we think that at the present time anyone, by having a pure heart, can make holy the day that the Lord has made holy. 7. And so you see that at that time, when we are given a good rest, we will make it holy—being able to do so because we ourselves have been made upright and have received the promise, when lawlessness is no more and all things have been made new by the Lord. Then we will be able to make the day holy, after we ourselves have been made holy. 8. Moreover he says to them, "I cannot stand your new moons and Sabbaths."⁸⁸ You see what he means: It is not the Sabbaths of the present time that are acceptable to me, but the one I

⁸⁶ Gen 2:2–3.

⁸⁷ Cf. Ps 90:4; 2 Pet 3:8.

⁸⁸ Isa 1:13.

⁷⁷ ὅτι H: οὖν S** L: οὐ S: οὐδ' G ⁷⁸ καταπανόμενοι
 ἀγιάσομεν S H: καταπανόμενος ἀγιάζη G (L)

ἐμοὶ δεκτά, ἀλλὰ ὁ πεποίηκα, ἐν ᾧ καταπαύσας τὰ πάντα ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὀγδόης ποιήσω, ὃ ἐστὶν ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχήν. 9. διὸ καὶ ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανοὺς.

16

Ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ, ἐρῶ ὑμῖν πῶς πλανώμενοι οἱ ταλαίπωροι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἤλπισαν, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, ὡς ὄντα οἶκον θεοῦ. 2. σχεδὸν γὰρ ὡς τὰ ἔθνη ἀφιέρωσαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. ἀλλὰ πῶς λέγει κύριος καταργῶν αὐτόν, μάθετε· τίς ἐμέτρησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν σπιθαμῇ ἢ τὴν γῆν δρακί; οὐκ ἐγώ; λέγει κύριος· ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου· ποιοῦν οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετέ μοι, ἢ τίς τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου; ἐγνώκατε, ὅτι ματαία ἡ ἐλπίς αὐτῶν. 3. πέρας γέ τοι πάλιν λέγει· ἰδοὺ, οἱ καθελόντες τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον αὐτοὶ αὐτὸν οἰκοδομήσουσιν. 4. γίνεται.⁷⁹ διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς καθηρέθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν· νῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπηρέται ἀνοικοδομήσουσιν αὐτόν. 5. πάλιν ὡς ἔμελλεν ἡ πόλις καὶ ὁ ναὸς καὶ ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ παραδίδοσθαι, ἐφανερώθη. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· καὶ ἔσται ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ παραδώσει κύριος τὰ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς καὶ τὴν μάνδραν

⁷⁹ γίνεται G L: om. S H

have made, in which I will give rest to all things and make a beginning of an eighth day, which is the beginning of another world. 9. Therefore also we celebrate the eighth day with gladness, for on it Jesus arose from the dead, and appeared, and ascended into heaven.

16

I will also speak to you about the Temple, since those wretches were misguided in hoping in the building rather than in their God who made them, as if the Temple were actually the house of God. 2. For they consecrated him in the Temple almost like the Gentiles do. But consider what the Lord says in order to invalidate it: "Who has measured the sky with the span of his hand or the earth with his outstretched fingers? Is it not I, says the Lord? The sky is my throne and the earth is the footstool for my feet. What sort of house will you build me, or where is the place I can rest?"⁸⁹ You knew that their hope was in vain! 3. Moreover he says again, "See, those who have destroyed this temple will themselves build it."⁹⁰ 4. This is happening. For because of their war, it was destroyed by their enemies. And now the servants of the enemies will themselves rebuild it. 5. Again it was revealed how the city, the Temple, and the people of Israel were about to be handed over. For the Scripture says, "It will be in the last days that the Lord will hand over to destruction the sheep of the pasture along

⁸⁹ Cf. Isa 40:12; 66:1.

⁹⁰ Cf. Isa 49:17.

καὶ τὸν πύργον⁸⁰ αὐτῶν εἰς καταφθοράν. καὶ ἐγένετο καθ' ἃ ἐλάλησεν κύριος. 6. ζητήσωμεν δέ, εἰ ἔστιν ναὸς θεοῦ. ἔστιν, ὅπου αὐτὸς λέγει ποιεῖν καὶ καταρτίζειν. γέγραπται γάρ· καὶ ἔσται, τῆς ἐβδομάδος συντελουμένης οἰκοδομηθήσεται ναὸς θεοῦ ἐνδόξως ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου. 7. εὐρίσκω οὖν, ὅτι ἔστιν ναὸς. πῶς οὖν οἰκοδομηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου, μάθετε· πρὸ τοῦ ἡμᾶς πιστεῦσαι τῷ θεῷ ἦν ἡμῶν τὸ κατοικητήριον τῆς καρδίας φθαρτὸν καὶ ἀσθενές, ὡς ἀληθῶς οἰκοδομητὸς ναὸς διὰ χειρός, ὅτι ἦν πλήρης μὲν εἰδωλολατρείας καὶ ἦν οἶκος δαιμονίων διὰ τὸ ποιεῖν ὅσα ἦν ἐναντία τῷ θεῷ. 8. οἰκοδομηθήσεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου. προσέχετε δέ ἵνα ὁ ναὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἐνδόξως οἰκοδομηθῇ. πῶς, μάθετε. λαβόντες τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ἐλπίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐγενόμεθα καινοί, πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κτιζόμενοι· διὸ ἐν τῷ κατοικητηρίῳ ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὁ θεὸς κατοικεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν. 9. πῶς; ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ τῆς πίστεως, ἡ κλήσις αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, ἡ σοφία τῶν δικαιωμάτων, αἱ ἐντολαὶ τῆς διδαχῆς, αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν προφητεύων, αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικῶν τοῖς τῷ θανάτῳ δεδουλωμένοις,⁸¹ ἀνοίγων ἡμῖν τὴν θύραν τοῦ ναοῦ, ὃ ἔστιν στόμα, μετάνοιαν διδοὺς ἡμῖν, εἰσάγει εἰς τὸν ἄφθαρτον ναόν. 10. ὁ γὰρ ποθῶν σωθῆναι βλέπει οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικοῦντα καὶ λαλοῦντα, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκπλησσόμενος, ἐπὶ τῷ μηδέποτε

⁸⁰ πύργον: τύπον H

with their enclosure and tower.”⁹¹ And it has happened just as the Lord said. 6. But let us inquire if a temple of God still exists. It does exist, where he says that he is making and completing it. For it is written, “It will come about that when the seventh day is finished, a temple of God will be gloriously built in the name of the Lord.”⁹² 7. And so I conclude that a temple exists. But learn how it will be built in the name of the Lord. Before we believed in God, the dwelling place of our heart was corrupt and feeble, since it really was a temple built by hand; for it was full of idolatry and was a house of demons, because we did everything that was opposed to God. 8. “But it will be built in the name of the Lord.” Now pay attention, so that the temple of the Lord may be gloriously built. And learn how: we have become new, created again from the beginning, because we have received the forgiveness of sins and have hoped in the name. Therefore God truly resides within our place of dwelling—within us. 9. How so? His word of faith, his call to us through his promise, the wisdom of his up-right demands, the commandments of the teaching, he himself prophesying in us and dwelling in us who had served death, opening up to us the door of the temple, which is the mouth, and giving repentance to us—thus he brings us into his imperishable temple. 10. For the one who longs to be saved looks not merely to a person but to the one who dwells and speaks in him. For he is amazed at

⁹¹ Cf. 1 Enoch 89:56.

⁹² Cf. Dan 9:24; 1 Enoch 91:13.

⁸¹ τοῖς . . . δεδουλωμένοις S: τους . . . -μενους H G

BARNABAS 19

μήτε τοῦ λέγοντος τὰ ῥήματα ἀκηκοέναι ἐκ τοῦ στόματος μήτε αὐτός ποτε ἐπιτεθυμηκέναι ἀκούειν. τοῦτό ἐστιν πνευματικὸς ναὸς οἰκοδομούμενος τῷ κυρίῳ.

17

Ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν ἐν δυνατῷ καὶ ἀπλότῃτι δηλῶσαι ὑμῖν, ἐλπίζει μου ἡ ψυχὴ, τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ μου μὴ παραλελοίπηναι τι τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν. 2. εἰ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων ἢ μελλόντων γράφω ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ νοήσητε διὰ τὸ ἐν παραβολαῖς κείσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως.

18

Μεταβῶμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἑτέραν γνώσιν καὶ διδαχὴν. ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἥ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους. διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γάρ εἰσιν τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ σατανᾶ. 2. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστιν κύριος ἀπ' αἰώνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας.

19

Ἡ οὖν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός ἐστιν αὕτη; εἰάν τις θέλων ὁδὸν ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον τόπον, σπεύσῃ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. ἔστιν οὖν ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν γνώσις τοῦ περιπατεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ τοιαύτη. 2. ἀγαπήσεις τὸν ποιήσαντά

BARNABAS 19

him since he has never heard him speak these words from his mouth nor even ever desired to hear them. This is a spiritual temple built for the Lord.

17

Insofar as I have been able to set forth these matters to you simply, I hope to have fulfilled my desire not to have omitted anything that pertains to salvation. 2. For if I should write to you about things present or things to come, you would not understand, because they are set forth in parables. And so these things will suffice.

18

But let us turn to another area of knowledge and teaching. There are two paths of teaching and authority, the path of light and the path of darkness. And the difference between the two paths is great. For over the one are appointed light-bearing angels of God, but over the other angels of Satan. 2. And the one is Lord from eternity past to eternity to come; but the other is the ruler over the present age of lawlessness.

19

This then is the path of light. Anyone who wants to travel to the place that has been appointed should be diligent in his works. Such is the knowledge given to us, that we may walk in it. 2. Love the one who made you; stand in reverential

σε, φοβηθήσῃ τόν σε πλάσαντα,⁸² δοξάσεις τόν σε
 λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου· ἔσῃ ἀπλοῦς τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ
 πλούσιος τῷ πνεύματι· οὐ κολληθήσῃ μετὰ τῶν
 πορευομένων ἐν⁸³ ὁδῷ θανάτου, μισήσεις πᾶν, ὃ οὐκ
 ἔστιν ἀρεστὸν τῷ θεῷ, μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν· οὐ
 μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου. 3. οὐχ ὑψώσεις
 σεαυτόν, ἔσῃ δὲ ταπεινόφρων κατὰ πάντα· οὐκ ἀρεῖς
 ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν δόξαν. οὐ λήμψῃ βουλὴν πονηρὰν κατὰ
 τοῦ πλησίον σου, οὐ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος.
 4. οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις.
 οὐ μή σου ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξέλθῃ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ
 τινῶν. οὐ λήμψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι τινὰ ἐπὶ παρα-
 πτώματι. ἔσῃ πραῦς, ἔσῃ ἡσύχιος, ἔσῃ τρέμων τοὺς
 λόγους οὓς ἤκουσας. οὐ μὴ μνησικακήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ
 σου. 5. οὐ μὴ διψυχήσῃς πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ. οὐ μὴ
 λάβῃς ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου. ἀγαπήσεις τὸν
 πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου. οὐ φονεύσεις
 τέκνον⁸⁴ ἐν φθορᾷ, οὐδὲ πάλιν γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς.⁸⁵
 οὐ μὴ ἄρῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς
 θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις φόβον
 θεοῦ. 6. οὐ μὴ γένῃ ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου, οὐ
 μὴ γένῃ πλεονέκτης, οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου
 μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ταπεινῶν καὶ δικαίων⁸⁶
 ἀναστραφήσῃ. τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς
 ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄνευ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.
 7. οὐκ ἔσῃ διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος·⁸⁷ παγὶς γὰρ

⁸² φοβηθήσῃ . . . πλάσαντα: om. G

awe of the one who formed you; glorify the one who ransomed you from death. Be simple in heart and rich in spirit. Do not mingle with those who walk along the path of death; hate everything that is not pleasing to God; hate all hypocrisy; do not abandon the commandments of the Lord. 3. Do not exalt yourself but be humble in every way. Do not heap glory on yourself. Do not entertain a wicked plot against your neighbor; do not make your soul impertinent. 4. Do not engage in sexual immorality, do not commit adultery, do not engage in pederasty. The word of God must not go out from you to any who are impure. Do not show favoritism when you reproach someone for an unlawful act. Be meek and gentle; tremble at the words you have heard. Do not hold a grudge against your brother. 5. Do not be of two minds whether this should happen or not. Do not take the Lord's name for a futile purpose. Love your neighbor more than yourself. Do not abort a fetus or kill a child that is already born. Do not remove your hand from *[Or: refrain from disciplining; or: shirk your responsibility towards]* your son or daughter, but from their youth teach them the reverential fear of God. 6. Do not desire your neighbor's belongings; do not be greedy. Do not join forces with the high and mighty but associate with the humble and upright. Welcome whatever happens to you as good, knowing that nothing occurs apart from God. 7. Do not be of two minds or speak from both sides of your mouth, for

⁸³ πορευομένων ἐν S G: πονηρευομένων H

⁸⁴ τέκνον: add σου H ⁸⁵ ἀποκτενείς S: ἀνελεῖς H G

⁸⁶ ταπεινῶν καὶ δικαίων S L: δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν G: ταπεινῶν H ⁸⁷ δίγλωσσος: γλωσσώδης S

θανάτου ἐστὶν ἡ διγλωσσία.⁸⁸ ὑποταγήσῃ κυρίοις ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ· οὐ μὴ ἐπιτάξης δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκῃ ἐν πικρία, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, μὴ ποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν· ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθεν κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν. 8. κοινωνήσεις ἐν πᾶσιν τῷ πλησίον σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ κοινωνοὶ ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς; οὐκ ἔσῃ πρόγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ τὸ στόμα θανάτου. ὅσον δύνασαι, ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἀγνεύσεις. 9. μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν. ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον κυρίου. 10. μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀγίων,⁸⁹ ἢ διὰ λόγου κοπιῶν καὶ πορευόμενος εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι καὶ μελετῶν εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ψυχὴν τῷ λόγῳ, ἢ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρωσιν⁹⁰ ἁμαρτιῶν σου. 11. οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις,⁹¹ γνώσῃ δέ, τίς ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. φυλάξεις ἃ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸ πονηρόν. κρινεῖς δικαίως. 12. οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους συναγαγών. ἐξομολογήσῃ ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίαις σου. οὐ προσήξεις ἐπὶ προσευχὴν ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. αὕτη ἐστὶν ὁ ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός.

⁸⁸ παγὶς . . . διγλωσσία G: om. S H

speaking from both sides of your mouth is a deadly trap. Be subject to your masters as to a replica of God, with respect and reverential fear. Do not give orders to your male slave or female servant out of bitterness—since they hope in the same God—lest they stop fearing the God who is over you both. For he did not come to call those of high status but those whom the Spirit had prepared. 8. Share all things with your neighbor and do not say that anything is your own. For if you are partners in what is imperishable, how much more in what is perishable? Do not be garrulous, for the mouth is a deadly trap. In so far as you are able, be pure within. 9. Do not be one who reaches out your hands to receive but draws them back from giving. Love like the apple of your eye everyone who speaks the word of the Lord to you. 10. Think about the day of judgment night and day, and seek out the company of the saints every day, either laboring through the word and going out to comfort another, being concerned to save a life through the word, or working with your hands as a ransom for your sins. 11. Do not doubt whether to give, nor grumble while giving. But recognize who is the good paymaster of the reward. Guard the injunctions you have received, neither adding to them nor taking away. Completely hate what is evil. Give a fair judgment. 12. Do not create a schism, but make peace by bringing together those who are at odds. Confess your sins. Do not come to prayer with an evil conscience. This is the path of light.

⁸⁹ τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀγίων S** G: om. S H

⁹⁰ λύτρωσιν G: λύτρον S H

⁹¹ γογγύσεις S H: add παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου (G) S**

Ἡ δὲ τοῦ μέλανος ὁδὸς ἐστὶν σκολιὰ καὶ κατάρως μεστή. ὁδὸς γάρ ἐστιν θανάτου αἰωνίου μετὰ τιμωρίας, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν τὰ ἀπολλύντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν· εἰδωλολατρεία, θρασύτης, ὕψος δυνάμεως, ὑπόκρισις, διπλοκαρδία, μοιχεία, φόνος, ἄρπαγὴ, ὑπερηφανία, παράβασις, δόλος, κακία, αὐθάδεια, φαρμακεία, μαγεία, πλεονεξία, ἀφοβία τοῦ θεοῦ. 2. διώκεται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλῶμενοι ἀγαθῷ, οὐ κρίσει δικαίᾳ, χήρᾳ καὶ ὀρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ πονηρὸν, ὧν μακρὰν καὶ πόρρω πραΰτης καὶ ὑπομονῆς, ἀγαπῶντες μάταια, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ ποιοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, εὐχερεῖς ἐν καταλαλιᾷ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρτητοι.

Καλὸν οὖν ἐστίν, μαθόντα τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ κυρίου, ὅσα γέγραπται, ἐν τούτοις περιπατεῖν. ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα ποιῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ δοξασθήσεται· ὁ ἐκεῖνα ἐκλεγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ συναπολείται.

But the path of the Black One is crooked and filled with a curse. For it is the path of eternal death which comes with punishment; on it are those things that destroy people's souls: idolatry, impertinence, glorification of power, hypocrisy, duplicity, adultery, murder, robbery, arrogance, transgression, deceit, malice, insolence, sorcery, magic, greed, irreverence towards God. 2. It is filled with persecutors of the good, haters of the truth, lovers of the lie; those who do not know the reward of righteousness, nor cling to the good nor to a fair judgment, who do not look out for the widow and the orphan, who are alert not to the reverential fear of God but to evil, from whom meekness and patience are far removed and remote. For they love what is vain and pursue a reward, showing no mercy to the poor nor toiling for the oppressed; they are prone to slander, not knowing the one who made them; murderers of children and corruptors of what God has fashioned; they turn their backs on the needy, oppress the afflicted, and support the wealthy. They are lawless judges of the impoverished, altogether sinful.

And so it is good for one who has learned all the upright demands of the Lord that have been written to walk in them. For the one who does these things will be glorified in the kingdom of God. The one who chooses those other things will be destroyed, along with his works. This is why there is

διὰ τοῦτο ἀνάστασις, διὰ τοῦτο ἀνταπόδομα. 2. ἐρωτῶ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας εἴ τινα μου γνώμης ἀγαθῆς λαμβάνετε συμβουλίαν· ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν εἰς οὓς ἐργάσεσθε τὸ καλόν· μὴ ἐλλείπητε. 3. ἐγγὺς ἡ ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ συναπολείται πάντα τῷ πονηρῷ· ἐγγὺς ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ. 4. ἔτι καὶ ἔτι ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς· ἑαυτῶν γίνεσθε νομοθέται ἀγαθοί, ἑαυτῶν μένετε σύμβουλοι πιστοί, ἄρατε ἐξ ὑμῶν πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν. 5. ὁ δὲ θεός, ὁ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου κυριεύων, δώῃ ὑμῖν σοφίαν, σύνεσιν, ἐπιστήμην, γνώσιν τῶν δικαιωμάτων αὐτοῦ, ὑπομονήν. 6. γίνεσθε δὲ θεοδίδακτοι,⁹² ἐκζητοῦντες, τί ζητεῖ κύριος ἀφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ ποιεῖτε, ἵνα εὐρεθῇτε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως. 7. εἰ δέ τις⁹³ ἐστὶν ἀγαθοῦ μνεία, μνημονεύετέ μου μελετῶντες ταῦτα, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία εἰς τι ἀγαθὸν χωρήσῃ. ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς, χάριν αἰτούμενος. 8. ἕως ἔτι τὸ καλὸν σκευὸς ἐστὶν μεθ' ὑμῶν, μὴ ἐλλείπητε μηδενὶ ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς ἐκζητεῖτε ταῦτα καὶ ἀναπληροῦτε πᾶσαν ἐντολήν· ἔστιν γὰρ ἄξια. 9. διὸ μᾶλλον ἐσπούδασα γράψαι ἀφ' ὧν ἡδυνήθην εἰς τὸ εὐφρᾶναι ὑμᾶς. σώζεσθε, ἀγάπης τέκνα καὶ εἰρήνης.⁹⁴ ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης καὶ πάσης χάριτος μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν.

Ἐπιστολὴ Βαρνάβα⁹⁵⁹² θεοδίδακτοι: om. S⁹³ τίς: τι S⁹⁴ εἰς τὸ . . . εἰρήνης: om. H

a resurrection; this is why a recompense. 2. I ask those of you who are in high positions, if you are willing to receive advice from my good counsel: keep some people among yourselves for whom you can do good, and do not fail. 3. The day is near when all things will perish, along with the wicked one. The Lord is near, as is his reward.⁹³ 4. Again and again I ask you, be your own good lawgivers, remain faithful advisors to yourselves, remove all hypocrisy from yourselves. 5. And may God, the one who rules the entire world, give you wisdom, understanding, perception, knowledge of his righteous demands, and patience. 6. Become those who are taught by God, inquiring into what the Lord seeks from you. And do it, that you may be found in the day of judgment. 7. And if there is any recollection of what is good, remember me by practicing these things, that my desire and vigilance may lead to a good result. I ask this of you, begging for a favor. 8. While the good vessel is still with you, do not fail in any of these things, but inquire fervently after them and fulfill every commandment. For they are worth doing. 9. Therefore I have been all the more eager to write what I could, to make you glad. Be well, children of love and peace. May the Lord of glory and of every gracious gift be with your spirit.

Epistle of Barnabas

⁹³ Cf. Isa 40:10; Rev 22:12.

⁹⁵ Ἐπιστολὴ Βαρνάβα S: add τοῦ ἀποστόλου συνεκδήμων Παύλου τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου G: om. H

FRAGMENTS OF PAPIAS
AND QUADRATUS

INTRODUCTION

The writings of Papias and Quadratus do not survive independently in manuscript form, but only in occasional citations of later church Fathers. Nonetheless, because of their early dates, they have been traditionally counted among the Apostolic Fathers: these two proto-orthodox authors produced their writings early in the second century, around the time of Ignatius and Polycarp.

Papias

Papias is first referred to by Irenaeus, and then by Eusebius, as an important figure in the early Christian movement of the second century (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 5.33.4; Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 3.39). Tradition holds that he personally knew the disciple John, the son of Zebedee, and that he was a companion of Polycarp (fragments 1, 3). Later legend indicates that he in fact was John's amanuensis, to whom John dictated his Gospel (see fragments 15, 16).

He was bishop of Hieropolis in Phrygia (Asia Minor), presumably when Polycarp was bishop of Smyrna further to the west. It is impossible to know his exact dates; they are traditionally given as 60–130. His most famous work,

INTRODUCTION

the five-volume *Expositions of the Sayings of the Lord*, has been plausibly dated anywhere from 110 to 140.

In part the dating depends on the reliability of the reports that he was an eyewitness to John the son of Zebedee, which would make him an adult sometime near the end of the first century. The surviving fragments of his own work, however, do not indicate that he knew any of the disciples, but only their followers, who related to him the teachings of the apostles, including the oral traditions of the sayings of Jesus. He may well have written his *Expositions*, then, into the third or fourth decade of the second century.

Although this work no longer survives intact, it did prove influential in early proto-orthodox circles of Christianity. The character, contents, and function of the work are still debated. Was this a collection of all the teachings of Jesus that Papias could track down from both written and oral sources? Or was it principally a "commentary" on these teachings? Did it include a collection of, or a commentary on, Jesus' deeds as well? Could Papias have meant it to supplant the written Gospels already in circulation?

However one answers these questions, it should be clear from the surviving fragments that the book contained the following noteworthy materials: (a) several millenarian sayings of Jesus that discussed in fantastic detail the utopian state that would exist on earth once the Kingdom arrived; (b) references to stories about Jesus known from other sources (e.g., an account similar to the story of the woman taken in adultery, which was later added in a different form to manuscripts of the Fourth Gospel); (c) traditions about the authors of the Gospels in circulation: Mark

PAPIAS AND QUADRATUS

as the interpreter of Peter; Matthew as the collector of the sayings of Jesus in Hebrew (Aramaic?); (d) legends providing the gory details, not found in the canonical accounts, of the ignominious fate of the betrayer, Judas; and (e) references to miracles wrought by Jesus' followers after his death.

One of the most striking claims that Papias makes in his work is that when trying to uncover details concerning the life and teachings of Jesus, he much preferred the "living voice" of companions of the apostles to stories "that came out of books" (fragment 3). This may embody the view typical among ancient writers (not shared by scholars who study antiquity), that live testimony that can be queried and cross-examined is superior to accounts entombed in writing.

Later authors maintained that Papias exerted undue influence on theologians such as Irenaeus, in his teaching that there would be a literal 1000-year reign of Christ, accompanied by a real, tangible, physical utopia here on earth. Eusebius in particular did not think highly of Papias or his writings, except insofar as he provided a kind of link between the burgeoning orthodox community of believers and the apostles themselves. In a rare castigation of one of his own proto-orthodox forebears, Eusebius, perhaps because of Papias's convictions about the literal earthly millenium, calls him a "man of exceedingly small intelligence" (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.39).

The passages provided in this edition contain only direct quotations from Papias's works and other patristic comments that indicate their contents. Introductory remarks by the authors who preserve these traditions, along with comments that these authors make about them are for

INTRODUCTION

the most part not included. (For example, on the basis of the words of Papias preserved in fragment 3, Eusebius concludes that Papias differentiated between John the disciple of Jesus and John the Elder; that conclusion is not included here, since it is Eusebius's interpretation of Papias's words, not a quotation of Papias himself.) The fragments are arranged chronologically according to source. They do not include fragments found only in later Arabic and Armenian sources (for which, see Kürzinger, 126–34).

The first edition of the Papias fragments was produced in 1633 by P. Halloix (“*Vitae Sancti Papias Hierapoleos Episcopi*,” in his *Illustrium Ecclesiae Orientalis Scriptorum*, 636–67).

Quadratus

Virtually nothing is known of the early proto-orthodox author Quadratus, apart from what Eusebius tells us in introducing the fragment of his writing given here. He is traditionally understood to have been the first Christian to write an “apology”—that is, a reasoned defense—of the Christian faith (for one other, written somewhat later, see the Epistle to Diognetus). As such he would have been one of the first Christian intellectuals to respond to local or official opposition to the church by giving evidence of its truth claims. In a dubious tradition attested much later, Jerome indicates that he was bishop of Athens (*Lives of Illustrious Men*, 19). Eusebius claims that he wrote the apology early in the reign of Emperor Hadrian, and so, possibly, around 125 CE (*Eccl. Hist.* 4.3).

We do not know the entire argument that Quadratus mounted; in the surviving fragment he indicates that there

PAPIAS AND QUADRATUS

was tangible evidence of Jesus' miracles and their long-lasting effects: people whom Jesus had healed or raised from the dead enjoyed the benefits of his miraculous intervention for a considerable length of time. Some of them continued to live down to Quadratus's own day. This claim about the long-term effects of Jesus' miracles may have been intended to show his superiority to some other alleged miracle worker.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baum, Armin Daniel. "Papias als Kommentator evangelischer Aussprüche Jesu: Erwägungen zur Art seines Werkes." *NovT* 38 (1996) 257–76.
- "Papias, der Vorzug der Viva Vox und die Evangelienchriften." *NTS* 44 (1998) 144–51.
- Grant, Robert M. "Quadratus, the First Christian Apologist." In *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus: Studies in Early Christian Literature and Its Environment, Primarily in the Syrian East*, ed. Robert H. Fischer. Chicago: Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1977; 177–83.
- Hill, Charles E. "What Papias Said About John (and Luke): A 'New' Papian Fragment." *JTS* n.s. 49 (1998) 582–629.
- Körtner, Ulrich H. J. *Papias von Hierapolis: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des frühen Christentums*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1983.
- Kürzinger, Josef. *Papias von Hierapolis und die Evangelien des Neuen Testaments*. Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1983.
- Munck, Johannes. "Presbyters and Disciples of the Lord in Papias." *HTR* 52 (1959) 223–44.

INTRODUCTION

Schoedel, William R. "Papias." *ANRW* II.27.1 (1993) 235–70.

——— *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp. Fragments of Papias*. Vol. 5 of *The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary*, ed. Robert M. Grant. Camden, NJ: Thomas Nelson, 1967.

FRAGMENTS OF PAPIAS AND QUADRATUS

PAPIAS FRAGMENTS

1

Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 5.33.3–4; Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3.39.1

Praedicta itaque benedictio ad tempora regni sine contradictione pertinet, quando regnabunt iusti surgentes a mortuis, quando et creatura renovata et liberata multitudinem fructificabit universae escae, ex rore caeli et ex fertilitate terrae: quemadmodum presbyteri meminerunt, qui Ioannem discipulum domini viderunt, audisse se ab eo, quemadmodum de temporibus illis docebat dominus et dicebat:

2. venient dies, in quibus vineae nascentur, singulae decem millia palmitum habentes, et in uno palmite dena millia brachiorum, et in uno vero brachio¹ dena millia flagellorum, et in unoquoque flagello dena millia botruum, et in unoquoque botro dena millia acinorum, et unumquodque acinum expressum dabit viginti quinque meretras vini. 3. et cum

¹ *brachio* cj. Bihlmeyer: *palmite* mss

FRAGMENTS OF PAPIAS AND QUADRATUS

PAPIAS FRAGMENTS

1

Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 5.33.3–4; Greek: Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 3.39.1

Thus the blessing that is foretold belongs without question to the times of the kingdom, when the righteous will rise from the dead and rule, and the creation that is renewed and set free will bring forth from the dew of heaven and the fertility of the soil¹ an abundance of food of all kinds. Thus the elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, remembered hearing him say how the Lord used to teach about those times, saying:

2. “The days are coming when vines will come forth, each with ten thousand boughs; and on a single bough will be ten thousand branches. And indeed, on a single branch will be ten thousand shoots and on every shoot ten thousand clusters; and in every cluster will be ten thousand grapes, and every grape, when pressed, will yield twenty-five measures of

¹ Cf. Gen 27:28.

PAPIAS AND QUADRATUS

eorum apprehenderit aliquis sanctorum botrum, alius clamabit botrus: ego melior sum, me sume, per me dominum benedic. similiter et granum tritici decem millia spicarum generaturum, et unamquamque spicam habituram decem millia granorum, et unumquodque granum quinque bilibres similiae clarae mundae: et reliqua autem poma et semina et herbam secundum congruentiam iis consequentem: et omnia animalia iis cibis utentia, quae a terra accipiuntur, pacifica et consentanea invicem fieri, subiecta hominibus cum omni subiectione.

4. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος γεγονώς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βιβλίων. ἔστιν γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα.)

haec autem et Papias Ioannis auditor, Polycarpi autem contubernalis, vetus homo, per scripturam testimonium perhibet in quarto librorum suorum: sunt enim illi quinque libri conscripti. et adiecit dicens:

5. Haec autem credibilia sunt credentibus. et Iuda, inquit, proditore non credente et interrogante: quomodo ergo tales geniturae a domino perficientur? dixisse dominum: videbunt, qui venient in illa.

PAPIAS 1

wine. 3. And when any of the saints grabs hold of a cluster, another will cry out, 'I am better, take me; bless the Lord through me.' So too a grain of wheat will produce ten thousand heads and every head will have ten thousand grains and every grain will yield ten pounds of pure, exceptionally fine flour. So too the remaining fruits and seeds and vegetation will produce in similar proportions. And all the animals who eat this food drawn from the earth will come to be at peace and harmony with one another, yielding in complete submission to humans."

4. Papias as well, an ancient man—the one who heard John and was a companion of Polycarp—gives a written account of these things in the fourth of his books. For he wrote five books. And in addition he says: 5. "These things can be believed by those who believe. And the betrayer Judas," he said, "did not believe, but asked, 'How then can the Lord bring forth such produce?' The Lord then replied, 'Those who come into those times will see.'"

Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.15

Τοσοῦτον δ' ἐπέλαμψεν ταῖς τῶν ἀκροατῶν τοῦ Πέτρου διανοίαις εὐσεβείας φέγγος, ὥς μὴ τῇ εἰς ἅπαξ ἱκανῶς ἔχειν ἀρκεῖσθαι ἀκοῇ μηδὲ τῇ ἀγράφῳ τοῦ θείου κηρύγματος διδασκαλία, παρακλήσεσιν δὲ παντοίαις Μάρκον, οὗ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον φέρεται, ἀκόλουθον ὄντα Πέτρου, λιπαρῆσαι ὥς ἂν καὶ διὰ γραφῆς ὑπόμνημα τῆς διὰ λόγου παραδοθείσης αὐτοῖς καταλείψοι διδασκαλίας, μὴ πρότερόν τε ἀνείναι ἢ κατεργάσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ταύτῃ αἰτίους γενέσθαι τῆς τοῦ λεγομένου κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίου γραφῆς. γνόντα δὲ τὸ πραχθέν φασι τὸν ἀπόστολον ἀνακαλύψαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πνεύματος, ἡσθῆναι τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν προθυμίᾳ κυρῶσαί τε τὴν γραφὴν εἰς ἔντευξιν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Κλήμης ἐν ἑκτῷ τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων παρατέθεται τὴν ἱστορίαν, συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἱεραπολίτης ἐπίσκοπος ὀνόματι Παπίας, τοῦ δὲ Μάρκου μνημονεύειν τὸν Πέτρον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ· ἣν καὶ συντάξαι φασὶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης.

Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 3.39

Τοῦ δὲ Παπία συγγράμματα πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν φέρεται, ἃ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως. τούτων καὶ Εἰρηναῖος ὡς μόνον αὐτῷ γραφέν-

Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.15

But such a light of piety shone on the minds of those who heard Peter that they were not nearly satisfied with a single hearing or with an unwritten account of the divine proclamation. And so with all kinds of entreaties they begged Mark (whose Gospel is now in circulation), a follower of Peter, that he might leave behind a written record of the teaching that had been given to them orally. And they did not rest until they had prevailed upon him. To this extent they were the impetus for the writing called the Gospel according to Mark. And they say that when the apostle came to know what had happened, after the Spirit revealed it to him, he delighted in their eagerness and authorized the writing to be read in the churches. Clement passes along this story in the sixth book of the *Outlines*, and the one who is called Papias, the bishop of Hierapolis, corroborates his account, pointing out in addition that Peter makes mention of Mark in his first epistle, which also they maintain was composed in Rome itself.

Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3.39

There are five books written by Papias in circulation, entitled "An Exposition of the Sayings of the Lord." Irenaeus remembers these as the only ones Papias wrote,

των μνημονεύει, ὥδέ πως λέγων· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ κτλ. (cf. Iren. V 33.4). 2. καὶ ὁ μὲν Εἰρηναῖος ταῦτα. αὐτός γε μὴν ὁ Παπίας κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀκροατὴν μὲν καὶ αὐτόπτην οὐδαμῶς ἑαυτὸν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμφαίνει, παρεληφέναι δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως παρὰ τῶν ἐκείνους γνωρίμων διδάσκει δι' ὧν φησιν λέξεων·

3. οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα, συγκατατάξαι ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις, διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τἀληθῆ διδάσκουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῇ πίστει δεδομένας καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς παραγινομένας τῆς ἀληθείας. 4. εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν, ἃ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης. . . .

as he somewhere says, "And Papias as well, an ancient man—the one who heard John and was a companion of Polycarp—gives a written account of these things in the fourth of his books. For he wrote five books."² 2. Thus Irenaeus. But Papias himself, in the preface of his work, makes it clear that he himself neither heard nor saw in person any of the holy apostles. Instead, he declares that he received the matters of faith from those known to them. As he says:

3. "I also will not hesitate to draw up for you, along with these expositions, an orderly account of all the things I carefully learned and have carefully recalled from the elders; for I have certified their truth. For unlike most people, I took no pleasure in hearing those who had a lot to say, but only those who taught the truth, and not those who recalled commandments from strangers, but only those who recalled the commandments which have been given faithfully by the Lord and which proceed from the truth itself. 4. But whenever someone arrived who had been a companion of one of the elders, I would carefully inquire after their words, what Andrew or Peter had said, or what Philip or what Thomas had said, or James or John or Matthew or any of the other disciples of the Lord, and what things Aristion and the elder John, disciples of the Lord, were saying. For I did not suppose that what came out of books would benefit me as much as that which came from a living and abiding voice." . . .

² Cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 5.33.4 (fragment 1)

7. καὶ ὁ νῦν δὲ ἡμῖν δηλούμενος Παπίας τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγους παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς παρηκολουθηκότων ὁμολογεῖ παρεληφέναι, Ἀριστίωνος δὲ καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου αὐτήκοον ἑαυτὸν φησι γενέσθαι. ὀνομαστὶ γοῦν πολλάκις αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασιν τίθησιν αὐτῶν παραδόσεις. καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἄχρηστον εἰρήσθω. 8. ἄξιον δὲ ταῖς ἀποδοθείσαις τοῦ Παπία φωναῖς προσάψαι λέξεις ἐτέρας αὐτοῦ, δι' ὧν παράδοξά τινα ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλα, ὡς ἂν ἐκ παραδόσεως εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα. 9. τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν Φίλιππον τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅμα ταῖς θυγατράσιν διατρίψαι, διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν (Eus. Eccl. Hist. 3.31) δεδήλωται, ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁ Παπίας γενόμενος διήγησιν παρεληφέναι θαυμασίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Φιλίππου θυγατέρων μνημονεύει, τὰ νῦν σημειωτέον. νεκροῦ γὰρ ἀνάστασιν κατ' αὐτὸν γεγενυῖαν ἱστορεῖ, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἕτερον παράδοξον περὶ Ἰοῦστον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Βαρσαβᾶν γεγονός, ὡς δηλητήριον φάρμακον ἐμπιόντος καὶ μηδὲν ἀηδὲς διὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου χάριν ὑπομείναντος. . . .

11. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου εἰς αὐτὸν ἤκοντα παρατέθεται, ξένας τέ τινας παραβολὰς τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τινα ἄλλα μυθικώτερα. 12. ἐν οἷς καὶ χιλιάδα τινὰ φησιν ἐτῶν ἔσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, σωματικῶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γῆς ὑποστησομένης. . . .

7. This Papias, whom we have just been discussing, acknowledges that he received the words of the apostles from those who had been their followers, and he indicates that he himself had listened to Aristion and the elder John. And so he often recalls them by name, and in his books he sets forth the traditions that they passed along. These remarks should also be of some use to us. 8. But it would be worthwhile to supplement these remarks of Papias with some of his other words, through which he recounts certain miracles and other matters, which would have come to him from the tradition. 9. We have already seen that the apostle Philip resided in Hieropolis with his daughters;³ but now I should point out that Papias, who was their contemporary, recalls an amazing story that he learned from Philip's daughters. For he indicates that a person was raised from the dead in his own time. Moreover, he tells another miracle about Justus (also called Barsabbas), who drank deadly poison but suffered no ill effects because he was sustained by the grace of the Lord. . . .

11. And he sets forth other matters that came to him from the unwritten tradition, including some bizarre parables of the Savior, his teachings, and several other more legendary accounts. 12. Among these things he says that after the resurrection of the dead there will be a thousand-year period, during which the Kingdom of Christ will exist tangibly, here on this very earth. . . .

³ See *Eccl. Hist.* 3.31.

14. καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῇ ἰδίᾳ γραφῇ παραδίδωσιν Ἀριστίωνος τοῦ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένου τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων διηγήσεις καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου παραδόσεις, ἐφ' ἃς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψαντες, ἀναγκαίως νῦν προσθήσομεν ταῖς προεκτεθείσαις αὐτοῦ φωναῖς παράδοσιν, ἣν περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον γεγραφότος ἐκτέθειται διὰ τούτων·

15. καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγεν· Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτῆς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου² ἢ λεχθέντα ἢπραχθέντα· οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσεν τοῦ κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων,³ ὥστε οὐδὲν ἡμαρτεν Μάρκος, οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν· ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσεν παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαί τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.

ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱστορήται τῷ Παπία· 16. περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ' εἴρηται·

Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο,⁴ ἡρμήνευσεν δ' αὐτά, ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.

² κυρίου B D M Lat Syr: Χριστοῦ A T E R

³ λογίων T^c E R B D M: λόγων A T

14. And in his own book he passes along other accounts of the sayings of the Lord from Aristion, whom we have already mentioned, as well as traditions from the elder John. We have referred knowledgeable readers to these and now feel constrained to add to these reports already quoted from him a tradition that he gives about Mark, who wrote the Gospel. These are his words:

15. “And this is what the elder used to say, ‘When Mark was the interpreter [*Or: translator*] of Peter, he wrote down accurately everything that he recalled of the Lord’s words and deeds—but not in order. For he neither heard the Lord nor accompanied him; but later, as I indicated, he accompanied Peter, who used to adapt his teachings for the needs at hand, not arranging, as it were, an orderly composition of the Lord’s sayings. And so Mark did nothing wrong by writing some of the matters as he remembered them. For he was intent on just one purpose: to leave out nothing that he heard or to include any falsehood among them.’”

This then is what Papias says about Mark. 16. And this is what he says about Matthew:

“And so Matthew composed the sayings in the Hebrew tongue, and each one interpreted [*Or: translated*] them to the best of his ability.”

⁴ συνετάξατο T E R B D: συνεγράψατο A M

17. κέχρηται δ' ὁ αὐτὸς μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου ὁμοίως, ἐκτέθειται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, ἣν τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει.

4

Apollinaris of Laodicea, from several sources

Οὐκ ἀπέθανε τῇ ἀγχόνῃ Ἰούδας, ἀλλ' ἐπεβίω καθαιρεθεὶς πρὸ τοῦ ἀποπνιγῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦσιν αἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων Πράξεις, ὅτι πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησε μέσος, καὶ ἐξεχύθη τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο δὲ σαφέστερον ἱστορεῖ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μαθητὴς λέγων οὕτως ἐν τῷ δ' τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τῶν κυριακῶν λόγων·

2. Μέγα δὲ ἀσεβείας ὑπόδειγμα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιεπάτησεν ὁ Ἰούδας πρηνθεὶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν σάρκα, ὥστε μηδὲ ὀπόθεν ἅμαξα ῥαδίως διέρχεται ἐκείνῳ δύνασθαι διελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ αὐτὸν μόνον τὸν τῆς κεφαλῆς ὄγκον αὐτοῦ. τὰ μὲν γὰρ βλέφαρα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ φασὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξοιδῆσαι, ὥς αὐτὸν μὲν καθόλου τὸ φῶς μὴ βλέπειν, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ὑπὸ ἱατροῦ διὰ διόπτρας ὀφθῆναι δύνασθαι· τοσοῦτον βάθος εἶχον ἀπὸ τῆς ἑξωθεν ἐπιφανείας. τὸ δὲ αἰδοῖον αὐτοῦ πάσης μὲν

17. And Papias made use of the testimonies found in the first epistle of John, and from the epistle of Peter as well. And he set forth another account about a woman who was falsely accused of many sins before the Lord,⁴ which is also found in the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

4

Apollinaris of Laodicea, from several sources

Judas did not die by hanging, but he survived after being taken down, before he had choked to death. The Acts of the Apostles signifies this as well: "Falling headfirst he burst forth in the middle, and his intestines spilled out."⁵ And Papias, the disciple of John, relates this very clearly in the fourth book of his *Exposition of the Sayings of the Lord*:

2. "But Judas went about in this world as a great model of impiety. He became so bloated in the flesh that he could not pass through a place that was easily wide enough for a wagon—not even his swollen head could fit. They say that his eyelids swelled to such an extent that he could not see the light at all; and a doctor could not see his eyes even with an optical device, so deeply sunken they were in the surrounding flesh. And his genitals became more

⁴ Cf. John 7:53–8:11.

⁵ Acts 1:18.

ἀσχημοσύνης ἀηδέστερον καὶ μείζον φαίνε-
σθαι, φέρεσθαι δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ
σώματος συρρέοντας ἰχῶράς τε καὶ σκώληκας
εἰς ὕβριν δι' αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν ἀναγκαίων.
3. μετὰ πολλὰς δὲ βασάνους καὶ τιμωρίας ἐν
ἰδίῳ, φασί, χωρίῳ τελευτήσαντος, ἀπὸ τῆς
ὁδμῆς ἔρημον καὶ ἀοίκητον τὸ χωρίον μέχρι τῆς
νῦν γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον
δύνασθαι τινα ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον παρελθεῖν, ἐὰν
μὴ τὰς ῥίνας ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιφράξῃ, τοσαύτη
διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔκρυσις
ἐχώρησεν.

5

Jerome, *Lives of Illustrrious Men* 18

Papias, Iohannis auditor, Hierapolitanus in Asia episco-
pus, quinque tantum scripsit volumina, quae praenotavit
Explanatio Sermonum Domini. in quibus quum se in
praefatione asserat non varias opiniones sequi, sed aposto-
los habere auctores, ait:

considerabam, quid Andreas, quid Petrus dixis-
sent, quid Philippus, quid Thomas, quid Iacobus,
quid Iohannes, quid Matthaeus, vel alius quilibet
discipulorum domini: quid etiam Aristion et senior
Iohannes, discipuli domini, loquebantur. non enim
tantum mihi libri ad legendum prosunt, quantum
viva vox usque hodie in suis auctoribus personans.

. . . Hic dicitur mille annorum Iudaicam edidisse δευτέρω-

disgusting and larger than anyone's; simply by relieving himself, to his wanton shame, he emitted pus and worms that flowed through his entire body. 3. And they say that after he suffered numerous torments and punishments, he died on his own land, and that land has been, until now, desolate and uninhabited because of the stench. Indeed, even to this day no one can pass by the place without holding his nose. This was how great an outpouring he made from his flesh on the ground."

5

Jerome, *Lives of Illustrious Men* 18

Papias, the hearer of John and bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, wrote only five volumes, which he called *An Exposition of the Sayings of the Lord*. When he claims in the Preface that he did not follow various opinions, but had the apostles as his authorities, he says:

"I used to make careful inquiry into what Andrew and Peter said, and what Philip said, and Thomas, and James, and John, and Matthew, and any of the other disciples of the Lord; and what Aristion and the elder John, the Lord's disciples, would say. For books that can be read are less useful to me than a living voice that resounds through authorities still alive in our own day."

... He is said to have propagated the Jewish tradition of the

PAPIAS AND QUADRATUS

σιν, quem secuti sunt Irenaeus et Apollinarius et caeteri, qui post resurrectionem aiunt in carne cum sanctis dominum regnatum.

6

Maximus the Confessor, Scholia on Dionysius the Areopagite; *On the Heavenly Hierarchy* 2

Τοὺς κατὰ θεὸν ἀκακίαν ἀσκούντας παῖδας ἐκάλουν, ὡς καὶ Παπίας δηλοῖ βιβλίῳ πρώτῳ τῶν κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεων.

7

Maximus the Confessor, *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 7

Ταῦτά φησιν αἰνιττόμενος οἶμαι Παπίαν τὸν Ἱεραπόλεως τῆς κατ' Ἀσίαν τότε γενόμενον ἐπίσκοπον καὶ συνακμάσαντα τῷ θείῳ εὐαγγελιστῇ Ἰωάννῃ. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Παπίας ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ αὐτοῦ βιβλίῳ τῶν κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεων τὰς διὰ βρωμάτων εἶπεν ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ἀπολαύσεις . . . καὶ Εἰρηναῖος δὲ ὁ Λουγδούνου ἐν τῷ κατὰ αἵρέσεων πέμπτῳ λόγῳ τὸ αὐτό φησι καὶ παράγει μάρτυρα τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰρημένων τὸν λεχθέντα Παπίαν.

8

Andrew of Caesarea, *On the Apocalypse*, preface

Περὶ μέντοι τοῦ θεοπνεύστου τῆς βίβλου (τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου scil.) περιττὸν μηκύνειν τὸν

PAPIAS 8

millennium, adopted by Irenaeus, Apollinarius, and others, who say that the Lord will rule in the flesh, with his saints, after the resurrection.

6

Maximus the Confessor, *Scolia on Dionysius the Areopagite, On the Heavenly Hierarchy* 2

They used to call those who were trained in divine innocence “children,” as Papias shows in the first book of *The Expositions of the Lord’s Sayings*.

7

Maximus the Confessor, *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 7

When he said these things, I think he [i.e., Dionysius the Areopagite] was alluding to Papias who was then a bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, flourishing during the time of the Evangelist John. For this Papias, in his fourth book of *The Expositions of the Lord’s Sayings*, spoke about the pleasures of food in the resurrection . . . And Irenaeus of Lyons says the same thing in the fifth book of his work, *Against Heresies*, citing this one we have named, Papias, as a witness to the things he said.

8

Andreas of Caesarea, *On the Apocalypse*, preface

Nonetheless, we think it superfluous to speak at length about the inspiration of the book [i.e., the Apocalypse of

λόγον ἡγοούμεθα, τῶν μακαρίων Γρηγορίου φημι τοῦ θεολόγου καὶ Κυρίλλου, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων Παπίου, Εἰρηναίου, Μεθοδίου, καὶ Ἱππολύτου ταύτῃ προσμαρτυρούντων τὸ ἀξιόπιστον.

9

Andrew of Caesarea, *On the Apocalypse* 34

Παπίας δὲ οὕτως ἐπὶ λέξεως· ἐνίοις δὲ αὐτῶν, δηλαδὴ τῶν πάλαι θείων ἀγγέλων, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν γῆν διακοσμήσεως ἔδωκεν ἄρχειν, καὶ καλῶς ἄρχειν παρηγγύησε. καὶ ἐξῆς φησὶν· εἰς οὐδὲν δὲ συνέβη τελευτῆσαι τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν.

10

Anastasius of Sinai, *Contemplations on the Hexameron* 1

Λαβόντες τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐκ Παπίου τοῦ πάνν, τοῦ Ἱεραπολίτου, τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπιστηθίῳ φοιτήσαντος, καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ Πανταίνου τοῦ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ιερέως, καὶ Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ σοφωτάτου, τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ πρὸ τῶν⁵ συνόδων ἐξηγητῶν, εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξ ἀήμερον νοησάντων.

⁵ πρὸ τῶν cj. Bihlmeyer: πρῶτων mss

PAPIAS 10

John], since such blessed writers as Gregory (I mean the theologian) and Cyril, not to mention such ancient writers as Papias, Irenaeus, Methodius, and Hippolytus have borne witness to its trustworthiness.

9

Andreas of Caesarea, *On the Apocalypse* 34

And the following is exactly what Papias says:

“He appointed some of them (he clearly means the holy angels of old) to rule over the administration of the earth, and he ordered them to rule it well.”

And later he says,

“But it turned out that their assignment came to nothing.”

10

Anastasius of Sinai, *Contemplations on the Hexameron* 1

They take their lead from the renowned Papias of Hierapolis, the close companion of the one who leaned on Jesus’ breast, and Clement, and Pantaenus the priest of the Alexandrian church, and the most wise Ammonius—ancient exegetes who lived before the councils, who understood the entire six days of creation to refer to Christ and the church.

11

Anastasius of Sinai, *Contemplations on the Hexameron* 7

Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαιότεροι τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐξηγητῶν,⁶ λέγω δὴ Φίλων ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμόχρονος, καὶ Παπίας ὁ πολὺς, ὁ Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ φοιτητής, ὁ Ἱεραπολίτης. . . . καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτοὺς πνευματικῶς τὰ περὶ παραδείσου ἐθεώρησαν εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ἀναφερόμενοι.

12

Philip of Side, *Ecclesiastical History*

Παπίας Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, ἀκουστῆς τοῦ θεολόγου Ἰωάννου γενόμενος, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος, πέντε λόγους κυριακῶν λογίων ἔγραψεν. ἐν οἷς ἀπαρίθμῃσιν ἀποστόλων ποιούμενος μετὰ Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην, Φίλιππον καὶ Θωμᾶν καὶ Ματθαῖον, εἰς μαθητὰς τοῦ κυρίου ἀνέγραψεν Ἀριστίωνα καὶ Ἰωάννην ἕτερον, ὃν καὶ πρεσβύτερον ἐκάλεσεν. . . . καὶ Παπίας δὲ περὶ τὴν χιλιονταετηρίδα σφάλλεται, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος. 2. Παπίας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει, ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθησαν. Παπίας ὁ εἰρημένος ἱστορήσεν ὡς παραλαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων Φιλίππου, ὅτι Βαρσαβᾶς, ὁ καὶ Ἰούστος δοκιμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων, ἰὼν ἐχίδνης πιῶν ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπαθῆς διεφυλάχθη. ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα

Anastasius of Sinai, *Contemplations on the Hexameron* 7

And so, the very ancient exegetes of the church, I mean the philosopher Philo, who lived in the time of the apostles, and the great Papias of Hierapolis, who was a close companion of the Evangelist John . . . and those who were their associates, understood the stories about Paradise in a spiritual way, as referring to the church of Christ.

Philip of Side, *Ecclesiastical History*

Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, hearer of the theologian John and friend of Polycarp, wrote five books about the sayings of the Lord. In these, in a list that he made of the apostles, after Peter and John, Philip and Thomas and Matthew, he indicated that Aristion and another John, whom he also called an elder, were disciples of the Lord . . . Papias was also mistaken about the future millennium; Irenaeus got his ideas from him. 2. In his second book Papias says that John the theologian and his brother James were killed by Jews. And this Papias we have been discussing related a story that he evidently received from the daughters of Philip, that when Barsabbas, also called Justus, was put to the test by unbelievers, he drank snake poison but was preserved unharmed by the name of Christ. And he tells other amazing stories—especially one

⁶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐξηγητῶν cj. Bihlmeyer: ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξηγητικῶν ms

θαύματα καὶ μάλιστα τὸ κατὰ τὴν μητέρα Μαναΐμου τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστᾶσαν· περί τε' τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντων, ὅτι ἕως Ἀδριανοῦ ἔζων.

13

George the Sinner, *Chronicle*

Μετὰ δὲ Δομετιανὸν ἐβασίλευσε Νερούας ἔτος ἕν, ὃς ἀνακαλεσάμενος Ἰωάννην ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἀπέλυσεν οἰκεῖν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. μόνος τότε περιῶν τῷ βίῳ ἐκ τῶν ἱβ' μαθητῶν καὶ συγγραψάμενος τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον μαρτυρίῳν κατηξίωται. 2. Παπίας γὰρ ὁ Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, αὐτόπτης τούτου γενόμενος, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων φάσκει, ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθη· πληρώσας δηλαδὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν πρόρρησιν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὁμολογίαν περὶ τούτου καὶ συγκατάθεσιν· εἰπὼν γὰρ ὁ κύριος πρὸς αὐτούς· Δύνασθε πιεῖν τὸ ποτήριον, ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω; καὶ κατανευσάντων προθύμως καὶ συνθεμένων· τὸ ποτήριόν μου, φησὶν, πίεσθε, καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθήσεσθε. καὶ εἰκότως· ἀδύνατον γὰρ θεὸν ψεύσασθαι. 3. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ πολυμαθὴς Ὁριγένης ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἐρμηνείᾳ διαβεβαιοῦται, ὡς ὅτι μεμαρτύρηκεν Ἰωάννης, ἐκ τῶν διαδόχων τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑποσημαινόμενος τοῦτο μεμαθηκέναι.

about Manaim's mother, who was raised from the dead. And he relates that those who were raised from the dead by Christ lived until the time of Hadrian.

13

George the Sinner, *Chronicle*

And after Domitian, Nerva reigned for one year. He recalled John from his island and allowed him to live in Ephesus. He alone of the twelve disciples remained alive at that time; and after he composed his Gospel he was found worthy to become a martyr. 2. For Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, an eyewitness of John, asserts in the second book of the Lord's sayings that John was killed by Jews. And so he, along with his brother, clearly fulfilled the prediction of Christ about them and the confession and consent that they gave to it. For the Lord said to them, "Are you able to drink the cup that I drink?" And when they eagerly nodded their assent and agreed to do so, he said, "You will drink my cup, and you will be baptized with the baptism that I experience."⁶ And it makes sense that this happened, because God cannot lie. 3. So too the polymath Origen sets forth clearly in his commentary on Matthew⁷ that John was martyred, indicating that he learned this from the successors to the apostles.

⁶ Mark 10:38–39.

⁷ Origen, *Commentary on Matthew* 16.6.

⁷ $\tau\epsilon$ cj. Bihlmeyer: om. ms

Photius, *Bibliotheca*

. . . οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' οὐδὲ Παπίαν τὸν Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον καὶ μάρτυρα, οὐδὲ Εἰρηναῖον τὸν ὄσιον ἐπίσκοπον Λουγδούνων (scil. ἀποδέχεται Στέφανος), ἐν οἷς λέγουσιν αἰσθητῶν τινων βρωμάτων ἀπόλαυσιν εἶναι τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν.

Catena of Greek Fathers commenting on the Gospel of John

Ἔστατος γὰρ τούτων Ἰωάννης ὁ τῆς βροντῆς υἱὸς μετακληθείς, πάνυ γηραλέου αὐτοῦ γενομένου, ὡς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν ὁ τε Εἰρηναῖος καὶ Εὐσέβιος καὶ ἄλλοι πιστοὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν γεγονότες ἱστορικοί, κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ αἰρέσεων ἀναφυσισῶν δεινῶν ὑπηγόρευσε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μαθητῇ Παπῖα εὐβιώτῳ τῷ Ἱεραπολίτῃ, πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ κηρυξάντων τὸν λόγον τοῖς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔθνεσιν.

Codex Vaticanus Alexandrinus 14

Incipit argumentum secundum Iohannem.

Evangelium Iohannis manifestatum et datum est ecclesiis ab Iohanne adhuc in corpore constituto, sicut Papias

Photius, *Bibliotheca*

[Stephen Gorbarus] did not [go along with] Papias the bishop and martyr of Hierapolis or with Irenaeus, the holy bishop of Lyons, when they said that the kingdom of heaven involved the enjoyment of foods palpable to the senses.

Catena of Greek Fathers commenting on the Gospel of John

For when the last of these, John, called “Son of Thunder,”⁸ had become a very old man (as Irenaeus, Eusebius, and other reliable historians who followed in their train have handed down to us), fearful heresies had sprouted up; and he dictated the Gospel to his own disciple, the respectable Papias of Hierapolis, so as to complete the work of those before him who had proclaimed the word to the nations throughout the world.

Codex Vaticanus Alexandrinus 14

Here begins an overview [*Or: the subject matter*] of the Gospel according to John.

The Gospel of John was published and given to the churches by John while he was still living, just as Papias,

⁸ Mark 3:18.

PAPIAS AND QUADRATUS

nomine Hierapolitanus, discipulus Iohannis carus, in exotericis id est in extremis quinque libris retulit. 2. descripsit vero evangelium dictante Iohanne recte.

QUADRATUS FRAGMENT

Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 4.3

Τραϊανου δὲ ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἕκοσι· τὴν ἀρχὴν
μησὶν ἐξ δέουσιν κρατήσαντος, Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς δια-
δέχεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. τούτῳ Κοδρᾶτος λόγον προσ-
φωνήσας ἀναδίδωσιν, ἀπολογία συντάξας ὑπὲρ τῆς
καθ' ἡμᾶς θεοσεβείας, ὅτι δὴ τινες πονηροὶ ἄνδρες
τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐνοχλεῖν ἐπειρῶντο. εἰς ἔτι δὲ φέρεται
παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἀτὰρ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ
σύγγραμμα, ἐξ οὗ κατιδεῖν ἔστιν λαμπρὰ τεκμήρια
τῆς τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διανοίας καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς
ὀρθοτομίας. 2. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς τὴν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀρχαιότητα
παραφαίνει, δι' ὧν ἱστορεῖ ταῦτα ἰδίαις φωναῖς·

τοῦ δὲ σωτήρος ἡμῶν τὰ ἔργα ἀεὶ παρῆν,
ἀληθὴ γὰρ ἦν, οἱ θεραπευθέντες, οἱ ἀναστάντες
ἐκ νεκρῶν, οἱ οὐκ ὥφθησαν μόνον θεραπευ-
όμενοι καὶ ἀνιστάμενοι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀεὶ παρόντες,
οὐδὲ ἐπιδημοῦντος μόνον τοῦ σωτήρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἀπαλλαγέντος ἦσαν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἱκανόν, ὥστε
καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους χρόνους τινὲς αὐτῶν
ἀφίκοντο.

QUADRATUS

also called the Hierapolite, a close disciple of John, mentions in the more accessible part of his five books—that is to say, near the end. 2. In fact, he carefully transcribed the Gospel while John dictated it to him.

QUADRATUS FRAGMENT

Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 4.3

After Trajan held power for nineteen and a half years, Aelius Hadrian succeeded to the rule. To this one Quadratus addressed and delivered a writing in which he set forth a defense of our religion, since some wicked men were attempting to cause a disturbance in our affairs. And the book is still in circulation among most of the brothers; indeed we ourselves have a copy, from which one can see clear signs both of the man's intelligence and of his apostolic orthodoxy. 2. And he reveals his early date by what he reports in his own words:

“But the works of our savior were always present, for they were true. Those who were healed and raised from the dead were not only seen when healed and raised, but they were always present—and not just while the savior was here, but even when he had gone they remained for a long time, so that some of them have survived to our own time.”

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS

INTRODUCTION

The Epistle to Diognetus is widely recognized as one of the true literary gems of early Christianity. It was first included among the works of the Apostolic Fathers by the eighteenth-century scholar A. Gallandi, who argued that it was written by none other than Apollos, the acquaintance of Paul mentioned in Acts and 1 Corinthians. This view never gained wide acceptance, however, and scholars now commonly maintain that since the book appears to have been written well after the early second century, it is included among the Apostolic Fathers by "custom rather than right" (thus Kirsopp Lake, in the first edition of the Loeb Apostolic Fathers; see Marrou). This opinion, however, assumes that the other Apostolic Fathers belong to the corpus on the basis of some kind of inherent claim; it should always be remembered that the entire collection is an ad hoc invention of modern scholars, not a self-vindicating canon of writings (see General Introduction).

In any event, it is fair to say that the Epistle to Diognetus is unique among the Apostolic Fathers in that it is an "apologia," that is, a reasoned defense of the Christian faith (but see the Fragment of Quadratus). Such apologies became relatively widespread among Christian authors during the mid to late second century.

INTRODUCTION

Overview

The epistle begins with an introductory address to an otherwise unidentified person named Diognetus, who is said to be eager to learn about the religion of the Christians, specifically, about the God they serve, their reasons for not following the religious practices of the Greeks or the Jews, the character of their love for one another, and the explanation for why their religion, if it is true, did not come into the world earlier.

The epistle seeks to address these queries and to show, as a result, the superiority of the Christian religion. First, in traditional but forceful terms, it mocks and attacks the idols worshiped by pagans (ch. 2), and then ridicules the religious practices of the Jews (chs. 3–4). It then argues that Christians are socially innocuous, that their way of life is morally superior, and that they are in the world as the human soul is in the body (chs. 5–6). It goes on to explain that the Christian religion is based not on human reason or philosophy but on divine revelation, as God has made it known through a divine emissary, his Son (chs. 7–8). The apology ends with a statement of wonder that through his Son, God has provided salvation and revealed his mysteries to those who had demonstrated their complete unworthiness (chs. 9–10).

A sudden and obvious shift occurs in chapters 11–12, which appear to be addressed not to an earnest pagan but to a community of Christians (e.g., 11.8). Based in part on an allegorical interpretation of the “tree of knowledge and the tree of life” (12.3), the author of these concluding chapters admonishes his hearers to seek after the true knowledge of the word that God has revealed through his Son.

DIOGNETUS

Integrity

The sudden shift in content and presupposed audience in chapters 11–12, along with differences in vocabulary, writing style, attitudes toward Judaism (which become more positive, as in the affirmation of the law and prophets in 11.6), and genre (the final chapters appear to be a homily) have led virtually all scholars to acknowledge that the concluding section comes from a different work from the apology of chapters 1–10. Some have supposed that the two works are by the same author, delivered on different occasions for different audiences (Barnard); but most have thought that they were composed by different authors. It is impossible to say how the two different works came to be combined, but our sole manuscript witness itself indicates a problem with the text at this point: at the end of chapter 10 a marginal note reads, “and here the copy has a break.”

There are other problems with the text, and scholars have proposed a number of emendations to restore its sense (see the Greek apparatus). In particular, an obvious lacuna occurs in 7.6, which, according to a note in the margin, was found in the copyist’s ancient exemplar. Unfortunately, there is no way to know how much of the intervening text has been lost, whether just a few words or a page or more.

Author

An inordinate number of conjectures, most of them fantastic, have been put forward for the authorship of the anonymous work embodied in chapters 1–10: Apollos,

INTRODUCTION

Clement of Rome, Quadratus, the heretic Marcion, his follower Apelles, the apologists Aristides of Athens or Theophilus of Antioch, the heresiologist Hippolytus of Rome, the Alexandrian scholar Pantaenus, the martyr Lucian of Antioch, Ambrosius, and others (see Tanner, Meecham, Marrou). Out of the frustration born of our ignorance, one nineteenth-century editor (J. Donaldson) conjectured that it had been forged by Henri Estienne (Stephanus), the sixteenth-century printer who produced the *editio princeps*, or if not by him, then possibly by an unknown Greek exile during the Renaissance, after the fall of Constantinople.

As a rule, scholars have been less interested in establishing the authorship of the fragmentary treatise or homily preserved in chapters 11–12, although, among others, the names of Pantaenus, Melito of Sardis, and most commonly, Hippolytus of Rome have been proposed.

The sole manuscript that preserved the text, which is itself now lost (see below), attributed the entire work, along with several other documents that it contained, to Justin Martyr. But there are substantial differences in style and contents between Justin's apologies and the Epistle to Diognetus: Justin, for example, embraced the Old Testament and used its text extensively to establish prophetic proofs for the Christian claims about Jesus; the Epistle to Diognetus makes no appeal to the Old Testament and acknowledges nothing positive in Judaism. Justin saw the Logos manifesting itself in the world before the coming of Jesus, for example in the great Greek philosophers; the Epistle to Diognetus has nothing but scorn for Greek philosophers and maintains that before the coming of Christ, no one had any inkling of the true nature of God. Justin

DIOGNETUS

claimed that pagan idols are real and demonic, the Epistle to Diognetus insists they are lifeless with no ties to anything beyond themselves.

As a result, we do not know who the author was. The most that can be said about him is that he was a highly educated, rhetorically trained, Greek-speaking Christian broadly familiar with philosophical commonplaces found among Platonic and Stoic thinkers (see Tanner).

Recipient

Like other early Christian apologies, the book is addressed to an individual, an otherwise unknown “Diognetus.” The name is not uncommon and literally means “born of Zeus.” Because he is called “most excellent”—an elevated title of respect—Diognetus is sometimes thought to have been a high-ranking administrative official (the emperor himself?) or some other member of the Roman elite. Most commonly it has been suggested that he was Diognetus, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius mentioned in the *Meditations* 1, 6, or possibly the procurator of Alexandria, Claudius Diognetus (ca. 200 CE), mentioned in the papyri (see Marrou). But none of the proposed identities has won widespread support. It may even be that Diognetus is an imaginary person, a pagan invented for the occasion, to whom the apology could be addressed, much as “most excellent Theophilus” (“beloved of God” or “one who loves God”) addressed in Luke and Acts is sometimes thought to be a cipher for the Christian audience of the books, rather than the name of a historical individual (see Luke 1:3; Acts 1:1).

INTRODUCTION

Date

The wide range of dates proposed for the work corresponds to the various speculations concerning its authorship (see Marrou). While scholars continue to suggest precise dates, most today prefer to speak in broader terms, maintaining, for example that it was written sometime between 150 and 310. It may be possible, however, to be a bit more specific. The book embodies concerns and emphases comparable to other apologists of the second century, although it shows no familiarity with (or, at least, regard for) arguments based on "proof from prophecy" or with the "logos doctrine" that proved so popular among most of them; it makes almost no use of the writings that later came to be canonized as the Christian Scriptures; and its striking christological views and theological assertions (esp. chs. 7–8) are not characterized by the nuance and refinement found among equally educated Christian authors at later times. It may be, then, that this should be regarded as one of the earlier apologies, written during the second half of the second century, possibly closer to the beginning than the end of that period.

Textual Tradition and Editions

The Epistle to Diognetus is poorly attested. It is never mentioned, let alone cited, by any of the church Fathers; moreover, it survived into modern times in only one manuscript of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and even this manuscript has now been destroyed.

The manuscript was a 260-page codex containing

DIOGNETUS

twenty-two different Christian works, principally of an apologetic and polemical nature, spanning a thousand years. The first five treatises, including the Epistle to Diognetus, were attributed in the manuscript to Justin Martyr (see Marrou). The manuscript was serendipitously discovered by a young cleric in 1436, in a pile of packing paper in a fish shop in Constantinople; it soon passed into the hands of the Dominicans. In the early sixteenth century it was acquired by the German humanist Johannes Reuchlin (d. 1522) and some time after his death, later in that century, by the Alsatian monastery of Maursmünster. Around 1794 the manuscript came to the municipal library of Strasbourg, where it remained until August 24, 1870, when it was destroyed by fire during the bombing of the city in the Franco-German war.

The Parisian printer Henri Estienne (Stephanus) published the *editio princeps* of the epistle in 1592, based on a transcription he had made in 1586. Another transcription had been produced by B. Haus in 1580 and a third around 1590 by J. J. Beurer (this transcription is lost, but Stephanus included a collation of it in an appendix to his edition). In addition, two careful collations of the manuscript were made in the nineteenth century for Otto's edition of the text, one by E. Cunitz in 1842 and the other by E. Reuss in 1861.

The important differences among the transcriptions of Stephanus, Haus, and Beurer and the 1742 edition published by Prudentius of S. Maur are reflected in the apparatus, along with various conjectures suggested by such editors as Stephanus, Lachmann, Bunsen, Gebhardt, and Hilgenfeld.

INTRODUCTION

Abbreviations

- A Codex Argentoratensis (the Strasbourg ms; 13th or 14th c.; based on the edition of Funk-Bihlmeyer)
h Transcription of Haus (1580)
b Transcription of Beurer (1590)
St *Editio Princeps* of Stephanus (1592)
Pr Edition of Prudentius of S. Maur (1742)

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barnard, L. W. "Epistle ad Diognetum: Two Units From One Author?" *ZNW* 56 (1965) 130–37.
Baumeister, Theofried. "Zur Datierung der Schrift an Diognet." *VC* 42 (1988) 105–11.
Connolly, R. H. "The Date and Authorship of the Epistle to Diognetus." *JTS* 36 (1935) 347–53.
Lienhard, Joseph T. "The Christology of the Epistle to Diognetus." *VC* 24 (1970) 280–89.
Marrou, Henri I. *A Diognète: Introduction, édition critique, traduction et commentaire*. SC 29. Paris: Cerf, 1951.
Meecham, Henry G. *The Epistle to Diognetus: The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation, and Notes*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1949.
Tanner, R. G. "The Epistle to Diognetus and Contemporary Greek Thought." In *Studia Patristica*, ed. E. Liv-
ingstone; 15 (1984) 1.495–508.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΓΝΗΤΟΝ

1

Ἐπειδὴ ὁρῶ, κράτιστε Διόγνητε, ὑπερσπουδακότα σε τὴν θεοσέβειαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθεῖν καὶ πάννυ σαφῶς καὶ ἐπιμελῶς πυνθανόμενον περὶ αὐτῶν, τίνι τε θεῷ πεποιθότες καὶ πῶς θρησκέυοντες αὐτὸν τόν¹ τε κόσμον ὑπερορῶσι πάντες καὶ θανάτου καταφρονοῦσι καὶ οὔτε τοὺς νομιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς λογίζονται οὔτε τὴν Ἰουδαίων δεισιδαιμονίαν φυλάσσουν, καὶ τίνα τὴν φιλοστοργίαν ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τί δὴ ποτε καινὸν τοῦτο γένος ἢ ἐπιτήδευμα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον νῦν καὶ οὐ πρότερον· ἀποδέχομαί γε τῆς προθυμίας σε ταύτης καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν ἡμῖν χορηγούντος, αἰτοῦμαι δοθῆναι ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰπεῖν οὕτως, ὡς μάλιστα ἂν ἀκούσαντά² σε βελτίῳ γενέσθαι, σοί τε οὕτως ἀκοῦσαι, ὡς μὴ λυπηθῆναι τὸν εἰπόντα.

2

Ἄγε δὴ, καθάρας σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προκατεχόντων σου τὴν διάνοιαν λογισμῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπατῶ-

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS

1

Since I see, most excellent Diognetus, that you are extremely eager to learn about the religion of the Christians and are making such an exacting and careful inquiry about them, wishing to discover which God they obey and how they worship him, so that they all despise the world and disdain death, neither giving credence to those thought to be gods by the Greeks nor keeping the superstition of the Jews, and what deep affection they have for one another, and just why this new race or way of life came into being now and not before, I welcome this eagerness of yours and ask God—who enables us both to speak and to hear—that I may be allowed to speak in such a way that you derive special benefit by hearing, and that you hear in such a way that the speaker not be put to grief.

2

And so come, purge yourself of all the notions that previously constrained your understanding, leave behind your

¹ τόν Lachmann: om. A

² ἀκούσαντα St: ἀκοῦσαι A

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 2

σάν σε συνήθειαν ἀποσκευασάμενος, καὶ γενόμενος
 ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, ὡς ἂν καὶ λόγου
 καινοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὠμολόγησας, ἀκροατῆς
 ἐσόμενος· ἴδε μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ
 φρονήσει, τίνος ὑποστάσεως ἢ τίνος εἰδους τυγχάνου-
 σιν, οὓς ἐρεῖτε καὶ νομίζετε θεοὺς. 2. οὐχ ὁ μὲν τις
 λίθος ἐστίν, ὅμοιος τῷ πατουμένῳ; ὁ δ' ἐστὶ χαλκός,
 οὐ κρείσσων τῶν εἰς τὴν χρήσιν ἡμῖν κεχαλκευμένων
 σκευῶν; ὁ δὲ ξύλον, ἥδη καὶ σεσηπός; ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος,
 χρήζων ἀνθρώπου τοῦ φυλάξαντος, ἵνα μὴ κλαπῇ; ὁ
 δὲ σίδηρος, ὑπὸ ἰοῦ διεφθαρμένος; ὁ δὲ ὄστρακον,
 οὐδὲν τοῦ κατασκευασμένου πρὸς τὴν ἀτιμοτάτην
 ὑπηρεσίαν εὐπρεπέστερον; 3. οὐ φθαρτῆς ὕλης ταῦτα
 πάντα; οὐχ ὑπὸ σιδήρου καὶ πυρὸς κεχαλκευμένα; οὐχ
 ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν λιθοξόος ὁ δὲ χαλκεὺς ὁ δὲ ἀργυροκόπος
 ὁ δὲ κεραμεὺς ἔπλασεν; οὐ πρὶν ἢ ταῖς τέχναις τούτων
 εἰς τὴν μορφὴν τούτων ἐκτυπωθῆναι, ἢν ἕκαστον³
 αὐτῶν ἐκάστω, ἔτι καὶ νῦν, μεταμεμορφωμένον; οὐ τὰ
 νῦν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης ὄντα σκεύη γένοιντ' ἂν, εἰ τύχοι
 τῶν αὐτῶν τεχνιτῶν, ὅμοια τοιούτοις; 4. οὐ ταῦτα
 πάλιν, τὰ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν⁴ προσκυνούμενα, δύναται ἂν
 ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων σκεύη ὅμοια γενέσθαι τοῖς λοιποῖς; οὐ
 κωφὰ πάντα; οὐ τυφλά; οὐκ ἄψυχα; οὐκ ἀναίσθητα;
 οὐκ ἀκίνητα; οὐ πάντα σηπόμενα; οὐ πάντα φθειρό-
 μενα; 5. ταῦτα θεοὺς καλεῖτε, τούτοις δουλεύετε, τού-
 τοις προσκυνεῖτε, τέλεον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐξομοιοῦσθε. 6. διὰ
 τοῦτο μισεῖτε Χριστιανούς, ὅτι τούτους οὐχ ἡγούνται

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 2

misguided habit of thought, and become as it were a person made new at the beginning, one who is about to hear a new teaching, just as you yourself have admitted. Consider the true nature and form of those you call and consider to be gods, not only with your eyes but also with your mind. 2. Is not one of them a stone, like that which we walk on? And another copper, no better than utensils forged for our use? And another wood, already rotted? And another silver, needing someone to guard it, to keep it from being stolen? And another iron, being eaten away by rust? And another pottery, no more attractive than that which is fashioned for the most disreputable purposes? 3. Are not all of these formed of destructible matter? Are they not forged with iron and fire? Were they each not made by the sculptor, coppersmith, silversmith, and potter? Before they were shaped by these crafts into the form that each of them now has, could they not have been made into other forms—indeed, could they not be remade even now? And the utensils that we have now, which come from the same material: could they not be made like them, if they came into the hands of the same artisans? 4. Or again, these things that are now worshiped by you: could they not be formed by human hands into utensils similar to the rest? Are they not all deaf? And blind? And lifeless? And unable to perceive? And unable to move? Are they not all rotting? Are they not all decaying? 5. These are what you call gods. These are what you serve. These are what you worship. And in the end, these are what you become like. 6. Is this why you hate the Christians, because they do not consider

³ ἑκάστων Pr: ἑκάστος A

⁴ ὑμῶν St: ἡμῶν A

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 3

θεούς; 7. ὑμεῖς γὰρ αἰνεῖν⁵ νομίζοντες καὶ οἰόμενοι, οὐ πολὺ πλεόν αὐτῶν καταφρονεῖτε; οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς χλευάζετε καὶ ὑβρίζετε, τοὺς μὲν λιθίνους καὶ ὀστρακίνοὺς σέβοντες ἀφυλάκτως, τοὺς δὲ ἀργυρέους καὶ χρυσοὺς ἐγκλείοντες ταῖς νυξὶ καὶ ταῖς ἡμέραις φύλακας παρακαθιστάντες, ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν; 8. αἷς δὲ δοκεῖτε τιμαῖς προσφέρειν, εἰ μὲν αἰσθάνονται, κολλάζετε μᾶλλον αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ ἀναισθητοῦσιν, ἐλέγχοντες αἵματι καὶ κνίσαις αὐτοὺς θρησκέυετε. 9. ταῦθ' ὑμῶν τις ὑπομεινάτω, ταῦτα ἀνασχέσθω τις ἑαυτῷ γενέσθαι. ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος μὲν οὐδὲ εἰς ταύτης τῆς κολάσεως ἐκὼν ἀνέξεται, αἰσθησιν γὰρ ἔχει καὶ λογισμόν· ὁ δὲ λίθος ἀνέχεται, ἀναισθητεῖ γάρ. οὐκ οὖν τὴν αἰσθησιν αὐτοῦ ἐλέγχετε; 10. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μὴ δεδουλωσθαι Χριστιανούς τοιοῦτοις θεοῖς πολλὰ μὲν ἀν⁶ καὶ ἄλλα εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι· εἰ δέ τινι μὴ δοκοίη καὶ ταῦτα ἱκανά, περισιστὸν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τὸ πλείω λέγειν.

3

Ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἰουδαίοις θεοσεβεῖν αὐτοὺς οἶμαί σε μάλιστα ποθεῖν ἀκοῦσαι. 2. Ἰουδαῖοι τοίνυν, εἰ μὲν ἀπέχονται ταύτης τῆς προειρημένης λατρείας, καλῶς⁷ θεὸν ἕνα τῶν πάντων σέβειν καὶ δεσπότην ἀξιούσι φρονεῖν· εἰ δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις ὁμοιοτρόπως τὴν θρησκείαν προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ ταύτην, διαμαρτάνουσιν. 3. ἂ γὰρ τοῖς

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 3

these to be gods? 7. But do you yourselves not show disdain for these gods, even while supposing and imagining that you praise them? Do you not much more ridicule and abuse them—worshiping the ones made of stone and clay without keeping close watch on them, but locking up those made of silver and gold, putting guards over them night and day to keep them from being stolen? 8. If these had any powers of perception, you would be punishing them by the honors you imagine you are bestowing on them. And if they lack perception, you offer proof against them by worshiping them with the blood and fat of your sacrifices. 9. See if one of you could put up with this kind of treatment or bear such things if they happened to you. But no one would endure this kind of punishment willingly, because he has sense perception and reason. But the stone endures it because it has no perception. And so do you not prove that it cannot perceive? 10. I could say many other things about why Christians do not serve such gods, but if someone supposes that these comments are not enough, I imagine saying anything more would be superfluous.

3

And next I suppose you especially long to hear about why the Christians do not worship like the Jews. 2. Now by abstaining from the kind of divine worship just mentioned, the Jews rightly claim to worship the one God who is over all and to consider him Master. But when they worship him like those already mentioned, they go astray. 3. For just as

⁵ αἰνέειν Lachmann: οἱ νῦν A ⁶ ἄν Lachmann: οἱ. A

⁷ καλῶς Hilgenfeld: καὶ εἰς A

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 4

ἀναισθήτοις καὶ κωφοῖς προσφέροντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφροσύνης δείγμα παρέχουσι, ταῦθ' οὗτοι καθάπερ προσδεομένῳ τῷ θεῷ λογιζόμενοι παρέχειν μωρίαν εἰκὸς μᾶλλον ἡγοῦντ' ἅν, οὐ θεοσέβειαν. 4. ὁ γὰρ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν χορηγῶν, ὧν προσδεόμεθα, οὐδενὸς ἂν αὐτὸς προσδέοιτο τούτων ὧν τοῖς οἰομένοις διδόναι παρέχει αὐτός. 5. οἱ δέ γε θυσίας αὐτῷ δι' αἵματος καὶ κνίσσης καὶ ὀλοκαυτωμάτων ἐπιτελεῖν οἰόμενοι καὶ ταύταις ταῖς τιμαῖς αὐτὸν γεραίρειν, οὐδέν μοι δοκοῦσι διαφέρειν τῶν εἰς τὰ κωφὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνδεικνυμένων φιλοτιμίαν· τῶν μὲν μὴ δυνάμενοις τῆς τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνειν, τῶν δὲ δοκούντων παρέχειν τῷ μηδενὸς προσδεομένῳ.

4

Ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε περὶ τὰς βρώσεις αὐτῶν ψοφοδεές καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ σάββατα δεισιδαιμονίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τὴν τῆς νηστείας καὶ νουμηνίας εἰρωνείαν, καταγέλαστα καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξια λόγου, οὐ⁸ νομίζω σε χρήζειν παρ' ἐμοῦ μαθεῖν. 2. τό τε γὰρ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κτισθέντων εἰς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώπων ἃ μὲν ὡς καλῶς κτισθέντα παραδέχεσθαι, ἃ δ' ὡς ἄχρηστα καὶ περισσὰ παραιτεῖσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἀθέμιστον;⁹ 3. τὸ δὲ καταψεύδεσθαι θεοῦ ὡς κωλύ-

⁸ οὐ St: om. A

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 4

the Greeks give evidence of their foolishness by making offerings to those that are without perception and deaf, so too these should realize that they manifest their own foolishness, rather than the worship of God, when they regard him as needing anything. 4. For the one who made heaven and earth and all that is in them,¹ and who supplies all of us with what we need, is himself in need of none of the things that he himself provides to those who suppose that they are giving them. 5. But those who suppose they are performing sacrifices of blood and fat and whole burnt offerings, and thereby to be bestowing honor on him by these displays of reverence, seem no different to me from those who show the same honor to the gods who are deaf—one group giving to gods who cannot receive the honor, the other thinking that it can provide something to the one who needs nothing.

4

But I do not think you need to learn from me about their anxiety over food, their superstition about the sabbath, their arrogance over circumcision, and the pretense they make of fasting and of their celebration of the new moon—ridiculous matters and unworthy of argument. 2. For how is it not completely unwarranted to accept some of the things created by God for human use as made well, but to reject others as useless and superfluous? 3. And how is it not impious to lie against God by saying that he does not

¹ Ps 146:6; cf. Acts 14:15.

⁹ οὐκ ἀθέμιστον Gebhardt: οὐ θέμις ἐστί A

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 5

οντος ἐν τῇ τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέρᾳ καλόν τι ποιεῖν, πῶς οὐκ ἀσεβές; 4. τὸ δὲ καὶ τὴν μείωσιν τῆς σαρκὸς μαρτύριον ἐκλογῆς ἀλαζονεύεσθαι ὡς διὰ τοῦτο ἐξαιρέτως ἡγαπημένους ὑπὸ θεοῦ, πῶς οὐ χλεύης ἄξιον; 5. τὸ δὲ παρεδρεύοντας αὐτοὺς ἄστροις καὶ σελήνῃ τὴν παρατήρησιν τῶν μηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας θεοῦ καὶ τὰς τῶν καιρῶν ἀλλαγὰς καταδιαιρεῖν πρὸς τὰς αὐτῶν ὁρμάς, ἃς μὲν εἰς ἑορτάς, ἃς δὲ εἰς πένθη· τίς ἂν θεοσεβείας καὶ οὐκ ἀφροσύνης πολὺ πλεόν ἡγήσαιοτο δείγμα; 6. τῆς μὲν οὖν κοινῆς εἰκαιότητος καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων πολυπραγμοσύνης καὶ ἀλαζονείας ὡς¹⁰ ὀρθῶς ἀπέχονται Χριστιανοί, ἀρκοῦντως σε νομίζω μεμαθηκέναι· τὸ δὲ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῶν θεοσεβείας μυστήριον μὴ προσδοκῆσης δύνασθαι παρὰ ἀνθρώπου μαθεῖν.

5

Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ οὔτε γῇ οὔτε φωνῇ οὔτε ἔθεσι διακεκριμένοι τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσὶν ἀνθρώπων. 2. οὔτε γάρ που πόλεις ἰδίας κατοικοῦσιν οὔτε διαλέκτῳ τινὶ παραλλαγμένα χρῶνται οὔτε βίον παράσημον ἀσκοῦσιν. 3. οὐ μὴν ἐπινοία τινὶ καὶ φροντίδι πολυπραγμόνων ἀνθρώπων μάθημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν εὐρημένον,¹¹ οὐδὲ δόγματος ἀνθρωπίνου προεστᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἔνιοι. 4. κατοικούντες δὲ πόλεις ἐλληνίδας τε καὶ βαρβάρους, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐκκληρώθη, καὶ¹² τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἔθεσιν ἀκολουθοῦντες ἔν τε ἐσθῆτι καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ τῷ

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 5

allow anything good to be done on the sabbath? 4. And how is it not worthy of scorn to boast in the mutilation of the flesh as a testimony to their election, as if they were especially loved by God because of it? 5. And who would consider as proofs of their divine worship, rather than of their utter foolishness, their constant observation of the stars and moon to keep track of months and days, and the distinctions they make in the divine orderings of the world and in the alternations of the seasons for their own impulses—setting aside some times for feasts and others for mourning? 6. I suppose you have learned enough about how the Christians are right to abstain from the vulgar silliness, deceit, and meddling ways of the Jews, along with their arrogance. But do not expect to be able to learn from any human the mystery of the Christians' own way of worship.

5

For Christians are no different from other people in terms of their country, language, or customs. 2. Nowhere do they inhabit cities of their own, use a strange dialect, or live life out of the ordinary. 3. They have not discovered this teaching of theirs through reflection or through the thought of meddlesome people, nor do they set forth any human doctrine, as do some. 4. They inhabit both Greek and barbarian cities, according to the lot assigned to each. And they show forth the character of their own citizenship in a mar-

¹⁰ ὡς Bunsen: om. A

¹¹ εὐρημένον h: εἰρημένον A

¹² καὶ Otto: ἐν A

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 6

λοιπῷ βίῳ θαυμαστὴν καὶ ὁμολογουμένως παράδοξον ἐνδείκνυνται τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν πολιτείας. 5. πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίας, ἀλλ' ὡς πάροικοι· μετέχουσι πάντων ὡς πολῖται, καὶ πανθ' ὑπομένουσιν ὡς ξένοι· πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσα πατρίς ξένη. 6. γαμοῦσιν ὡς πάντες, τεκνογονοῦσιν· ἀλλ' οὐ ρίπτουσι τὰ γεννώμενα. 7. τράπεζαν κοινὴν παρατίθενται, ἀλλ' οὐ κοίτην.¹³ 8. ἐν σαρκὶ τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ σάρκα ζῶσιν. 9. ἐπὶ γῆς διατρίβουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύονται. 10. πείθονται τοῖς ὠρισμένοις νόμοις, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίῳ βίοις νικῶσι τοὺς νόμους. 11. ἀγαπῶσι πάντας, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων διώκονται. 12. ἀγνοοῦνται, καὶ κατακρίνονται· θανατοῦνται, καὶ ζωοποιοῦνται. 13. πτωχεύουσι, καὶ πλουτίζουσι πολλούς· πάντων ὑστεροῦνται, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι περισσεύουσιν. 14. ἀτιμῶνται, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀτιμίαις δοξάζονται. βλασφημοῦνται, καὶ δικαιοῦνται. 15. λοιδοροῦνται, καὶ εὐλογοῦσιν· ὑβρίζονται, καὶ τιμῶσιν. 16. ἀγαθοποιοῦντες ὡς κακοὶ κολάζονται· κολαζόμενοι χαίρουσιν ὡς ζωοποιοῦμενοι. 17. ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ὡς ἀλλόφυλοι πολεμοῦνται καὶ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων διώκονται· καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἔχθρας εἰπεῖν οἱ μισοῦντες οὐκ ἔχουσιν.

6

Ἀπλῶς δ' εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν σώματι ψυχῇ, τοῦτ' εἰσὶν ἐν κόσμῳ Χριστιανοί. 2. ἔσπαρται κατὰ πάντων

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 6

velous and admittedly paradoxical way by following local customs in what they wear and what they eat and in the rest of their lives. 5. They live in their respective countries, but only as resident aliens; they participate in all things as citizens, and they endure all things as foreigners. Every foreign territory is a homeland for them, every homeland foreign territory. 6. They marry like everyone else and have children, but they do not expose them once they are born. 7. They share their meals but not their sexual partners. 8. They are found in the flesh but do not live according to the flesh. 9. They live on earth but participate in the life of heaven. 10. They are obedient to the laws that have been made, and by their own lives they supersede the laws. 11. They love everyone and are persecuted by all. 12. They are not understood and they are condemned. They are put to death and made alive. 13. They are impoverished and make many rich. They lack all things and abound in everything. 14. They are dishonored and they are exalted in their dishonors. They are slandered and they are acquitted. 15. They are reviled and they bless, mistreated and they bestow honor. 16. They do good and are punished as evil; when they are punished they rejoice as those who have been made alive. 17. They are attacked by Jews as foreigners and persecuted by Greeks. And those who hate them cannot explain the cause of their enmity.

6

To put the matter simply, what the soul is in the body, this is what Christians are in the world. 2. The soul is spread

¹³ κοίτην Pr: κοινὴν A

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 7

τῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κατὰ τὰς τοῦ κόσμου πόλεις. 3. οἰκεῖ μὲν ἐν τῷ σώματι ψυχὴ, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ ἐν κόσμῳ οἰκοῦσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου. 4. ἀόρατος ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν ὁρατῷ φρουρεῖται τῷ σώματι· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ γινώσκονται μὲν ὄντες¹⁴ ἐν τῷ κοσμῷ, ἀόρατος δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ θεοσέβεια μένει. 5. μισεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡ σὰρξ καὶ πολεμεῖ μηδὲν ἀδικουμένη, διότι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς κωλύεται χρῆσθαι· μισεῖ καὶ Χριστιανούς ὁ κόσμος μηδὲν ἀδικούμενος, ὅτι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἀντιτάσσονται. 6. ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν μισοῦσαν ἀγαπᾷ σάρκα καὶ τὰ μέλη· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ἀγαπῶσιν. 7. ἐγκλείσται μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ σώματι, συνέχει δὲ αὐτὴ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κατέχονται μὲν ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ τῷ κόσμῳ, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνέχουσι τὸν κόσμον. 8. ἀθάνατος ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν θνητῷ σκηνώματι κατοικεῖ· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παροικοῦσιν ἐν φθαρτοῖς, τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀφθαρσίαν προσδεχόμενοι. 9. κακουργουμένη σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς ἡ ψυχὴ βελτιοῦται· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κολαζόμενοι καθ' ἡμέραν πλεονάζουσι μᾶλλον. 10. εἰς τοσαύτην αὐτοὺς τάξιν ἔθετο ὁ θεός, ἣν οὐ θεμιτὸν αὐτοῖς παραιτήσασθαι.

7

Οὐ γὰρ ἐπίγειον, ὡς ἔφην, εὖρημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς παρεδόθη, οὐδὲ θνητὴν ἐπίνοιαν φυλάσσειν οὕτως ἀξιοῦσιν ἐπιμελῶς, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνων οἰκονομίαν μυ-

throughout all the limbs of the body; Christians are spread throughout the cities of the world. 3. The soul lives in the body, but it does not belong to the body; Christians live in the world but do not belong to the world. 4. The soul, which is invisible, is put under guard in the visible body; Christians are known to be in the world, but their worship of God remains invisible. 5. The flesh hates the soul and attacks it, even though it has suffered no harm, because it is hindered from indulging in its pleasures. And the world hates the Christians, even though it has suffered no harm, because they are opposed to its pleasures. 6. The soul loves the flesh that hates it, along with its limbs; Christians love those who hate them. 7. The soul is imprisoned in the body, but it sustains [*Or: constrains*] the body; Christians are detained in the prison of the world, but they sustain [*Or: constrain*] the world. 8. The soul, which is immortal, dwells in a mortal tent; Christians temporarily dwell in perishable surroundings but await that which is imperishable in the heavens. 9. The soul grows stronger even when mistreated by what the body eats and drinks; Christians increase daily even when punished. 10. God has appointed them to such a position, and it would not be right for them to abandon it.

7

For, as I have said, this is no earthly discovery that has been handed over to them, nor is it a mortal idea that, in their judgment, merits such diligent oversight. Nor have they been entrusted with the administration of merely human

¹⁴ μὲν ὅντες St: μένοντες A

στηρίων πεπίστευνται. 2. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀληθῶς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καὶ παντοκτίστης καὶ ἀόρατος θεός, αὐτὸς ἀπ' οὐρανῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἀπερινόητον ἀνθρώποις ἐνίδρυσε καὶ ἐγκατεστήριξε ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν· οὐ, καθάπερ ἂν τις εἰκάσειεν ἀνθρώποις ὑπηρέτην τινὰ πέμψας ἢ ἄγγελον ἢ ἄρχοντα ἢ τινα τῶν διεπόντων τὰ ἐπίγεια ἢ τινα τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰς ἐν οὐρανοῖς διοικήσεις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων, ᾧ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἔκτισεν, ᾧ τὴν θάλασσαν ἰδίους ὅροις ἐνέκλεισεν, οὗ τὰ μυστήρια πιστῶς πάντα φυλάσσει τὰ στοιχεῖα, παρ' οὗ τὰ μέτρα τῶν τῆς ἡμέρας δρόμων ὁ ἥλιος¹⁵ εἴληφε φυλάσσειν, ᾧ πειθαρχεῖ σελήνη νυκτὶ φαίνειν κελεύοντι, ᾧ πειθαρχεῖ τὰ ἄστρα τῷ τῆς σελήνης ἀκολουθοῦντα δρόμῳ· ᾧ πάντα διατέτακται καὶ διώρισται καὶ ὑποτέτακται, οὐρανοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, θάλασσα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, πῦρ, ἀήρ, ἄβυσσος, τὰ ἐν ὕψεσι, τὰ ἐν βάθεσι, τὰ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ· τοῦτον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλεν. 3. ἄρά γε, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἂν τις λογίσαιτο, ἐπὶ τυραννίδι καὶ φόβῳ καὶ καταπλήξει; 4. οὐ μὲν οὖν· ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ πραύτητι ὡς βασιλεὺς πέμπων υἱὸν βασιλέα ἔπεμψεν, ὡς θεὸν ἔπεμψεν, ὡς ἄνθρωπον¹⁶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔπεμψεν, ὡς σῶζων ἔπεμψεν, ὡς πείθων, οὐ βιαζόμενος· βία γὰρ οὐ πρόσεστι τῷ θεῷ. 5. ἔπεμψεν ὡς καλῶν, οὐ διώκων· ἔπεμψεν ὡς ἀγαπῶν, οὐ κρίνων. 6. πέμψει γὰρ αὐτὸν κρίνοντα· καὶ

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 7

mysteries. 2. But the truly all-powerful God himself, creator of all and invisible, set up and established in their hearts the truth and the holy word from heaven, which cannot be comprehended by humans. To do so, he did not, as one might suppose, send them one of his servants or an angel or a ruler or any of those who administer earthly activities or who are entrusted with heavenly affairs, but he sent the craftsman and maker of all things himself, by whom he created the heavens, by whom he enclosed the sea within its own boundaries, whose mysteries all the elements of creation guard faithfully, from whom the sun was appointed to guard the courses that it runs during the day, whom the moon obeys when he commands it to shine at night, whom the stars obey by following the course of the moon, by whom all things are set in order and arranged and put into subjection, the heavens and the things in the heavens, the earth and the things in the earth, the sea and the things in the sea, fire, air, the abyss, creatures in the heights, creatures in the depths, and creatures in between—this is the one he sent to them. 3. So then, did he, as one might suppose, send him to rule in tyranny, fear, and terror? 4. Not at all. But with gentleness and meekness, as a king sending his own son, he sent him as a king; he sent him as a god; he sent him as a human to humans. So that he might bring salvation and persuasion he sent him, not to coerce—for God does not work through coercion. 5. He sent him to issue his call, not to persecute. He sent him to show forth his love, not to judge. 6. For later he will send

¹⁵ ὁ ἥλιος St: om. A

¹⁶ ἀνθρωπον Lachmann: om. A

τίς αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν ὑποστήσεται;¹⁷ . . . 7. οὐχ ὁρᾶς¹⁸ παραβαλλομένους θηρίοις, ἵνα ἀρνήσωνται τὸν κύριον, καὶ μὴ νικωμένους; 8. οὐχ ὁρᾶς, ὅσῳ πλείονες κολάζονται, τοσούτῳ πλεονάζοντας ἄλλους; 9. ταῦτα ἀνθρώπου οὐ δοκεῖ τὰ ἔργα· ταῦτα δύνάμεις ἐστὶ θεοῦ· ταῦτα τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ δείγματα.¹⁹

8

Τίς γὰρ ὅλως ἀνθρώπων ἠπίστατο, τί ποτ' ἐστὶ θεός, πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν; 2. ἡ τοὺς κενοὺς καὶ ληρώδεις ἐκείνων λόγους ἀποδέχῃ τῶν ἀξιοπίστων φιλοσόφων, ὧν οἱ μὲν τινες πῦρ ἔφασαν εἶναι τὸν θεόν (οὐ μέλ- λουσι χωρήσειν αὐτοί, τοῦτο καλοῦσι θεόν), οἱ δὲ ὕδωρ, οἱ δ' ἄλλο τι τῶν στοιχείων τῶν ἐκτισμένων ὑπὸ θεοῦ; 3. καίτοι γε, εἴ τις τούτων τῶν λόγων ἀπόδεκτός ἐστι, δύναιτ' ἂν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κτισμάτων ἐν ἑκάστων ὁμοίως ἀποφαίνεσθαι θεόν. 4. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τερατεία καὶ πλάνη τῶν γοήτων ἐστίν· 5. ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐδεὶς οὔτε εἶδεν²⁰ οὔτε ἐγνώρισεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἐπέδειξεν. 6. ἐπέδειξε δὲ διὰ πίστεως, ἥ μόνη²¹ θεὸν ἰδεῖν συγκεχώρηται. 7. ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων θεός, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα καὶ κατὰ τάξιν διακρίνας, οὐ μόνον φιλόανθρωπος ἐγένετο ἀλλὰ καὶ μακρόθυμος. 8. ἀλλ' οὗτος ἦν μὲν αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος καὶ

¹⁷ In the MS there follows a gap (of almost two lines in h); in the margin the scribe noted οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ εὑρον ἐγκοπὴν παλαιωτάτου ὄντος (read παλαιωτάτῳ ὄντι) A

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 8

him in judgment—and who will withstand his coming? . . .

7. Do you not see² how they are cast to the wild beasts that they might deny the Lord, and yet they are not overcome?

8. Do you not see that the more the multitude is punished, the more others increase their numbers? 9. These things do not appear to be human works. These are the power of God; these are proofs of his coming.

8

For what person formerly had any idea what God was like, before he came? 2. Or do you accept the vain and ridiculous teachings of those specious philosophers, some of whom asserted that God was fire (where they themselves are about to go, this is what they call God!), and others water, and others one of the other elements created by God? 3. And if any of these teachings was acceptable, then every one of the other things created by God could also appear to be God. 4. But these ideas are illusions and the deception of tricksters. 5. For no one either saw him or made him known, but he revealed himself. 6. And he revealed himself through faith, through which alone is one permitted to see God. 7. For God, the Master and Creator of all, the one who created all things and set them in order, was not only benevolent but also patient. 8. Indeed, he was always this

² The text has been emended to restore the sense.

¹⁸ οὐχ ὁρᾶς St: lacuna A

¹⁹ δείγματα St: δόγματα A

²⁰ εἶδεν St: εἶπεν A

²¹ μόνη h; μόνον A

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 9

ἔστι καὶ ἔσται· χρηστὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀόργητος καὶ ἀληθής· καὶ μόνος ἀγαθὸς ἔστιν· 9. ἐννοήσας δὲ μεγάλην καὶ ἄφραστον ἔννοιαν ἀνεκοινώσατο²² μόνῳ τῷ παιδί. 10. ἐν ὧσιν μὲν οὖν κατεῖχεν ἐν μυστηρίῳ καὶ διετήρει τὴν σοφὴν αὐτοῦ βουλήν, ἀμελεῖν ἡμῶν καὶ ἀφροντιστεῖν ἔδοκει. 11. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκάλυψε διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἐφανέρωσε τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡτοιμασμένα, πάνθ' ἅμα παρέσχεν ἡμῖν, καὶ μετασχεῖν τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ νοῆσαι,²³ ἃ τίς ἂν πώποτε προσεδόκησεν ἡμῶν;

9

Πάντ' οὖν ἤδη παρ' ἑαυτῷ σὺν τῷ παιδί οἰκονομηκώς, μέχρι μὲν τοῦ²⁴ πρόσθεν χρόνου εἴασεν ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἐβουλόμεθα, ἀτάκτοις φοραῖς φέρεσθαι, ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις ἀπαγομένους. οὐ πάντως ἐφηδόμενος τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχόμενος, οὐδὲ τῷ τότε τῆς ἀδικίας καιρῷ συνευδοκῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν νῦν²⁵ τῆς δικαιοσύνης δημιουργῶν, ἵνα ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἐλεγχθέντες ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἔργων ἀνάξιοι ζωῆς νῦν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστότητος ἀξιωθῶμεν, καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς φανερώσαντες ἀδύνατον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ δυνατοὶ γεννηθῶμεν. 2. ἐπεὶ δὲ πεπλήρωτο μὲν ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀδικία καὶ τελείως

²² ἀνεκοινώσατο St: ἦν ἐκοινώσατο A

²³ νοῆσαι, ἃ τίς Lachmann: ποιῆσαι, τις A

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 9

way, and is and will be: kind and good and without anger and true. He alone is good. 9. And when he had a great and inexpressible thought, he communicated it to his child alone. 10. And so, as long as he enshrouded it in a mystery and kept his wise plan to himself, he seemed not to care for us or give us any heed. 11. But when he revealed it through his beloved child and showed the things prepared from the beginning, he shared all things with us at once, that we might participate in and see and understand his kindly acts. Who among us would have ever expected these things?

9

And so, having arranged all things by himself, along with his child, he permitted us—while it was still the former time—to be borne along by disorderly passions, as we wished, carried off by our pleasures and desires. He took no delight at all in our sins, but he endured them. Nor did he approve of the former time of unrighteousness, but he was creating the present age of righteousness, so that even though at that time our works proved that we were unworthy of life, we might in the present be made worthy by the kindness of God. And when we had demonstrated that we were powerless to enter the kingdom of God on our own, we were enabled by the power of God. 2. For our unrighteous way of life came to fruition and it became perfectly

²⁴ πάντ' . . . μὲν τοῦ Lachmann: πάντ' οὖν ἦδει π. έ. σ. τ.
 παιδὶ οἰκονομικῶς μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦ A

²⁵ νῦν Hefele: νούν A

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 9

πεφανέρωτο, ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς αὐτῆς κόλασις καὶ θάνατος
 προσεδοκάτο, ἦλθε δὲ ὁ καιρὸς, ὃν θεὸς προέθετο
 λοιπὸν φανερῶσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χρηστότητα καὶ δύνα-
 μιν (ὡ²⁶ τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης φιλανθρωπίας καὶ
 ἀγάπης²⁷ τοῦ θεοῦ), οὐκ ἐμίσησεν ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ ἀπόσατο
 οὐδὲ ἐμνησικάκησεν, ἀλλὰ ἐμακροθύμησεν, ἡνέσχετο.
 ἐλεῶν²⁸ αὐτὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀμαρτίας ἀνεδέξατο.
 αὐτὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν ἀπέδοτο λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τὸν
 ἅγιον ὑπὲρ ἀνόμων, τὸν ἄκακον ὑπὲρ τῶν κακῶν, τὸν
 δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκων, τὸν ἄφθαρτον ὑπὲρ τῶν
 φθαρτῶν, τὸν ἀθάνατον ὑπὲρ τῶν θνητῶν. 3. τί γὰρ
 ἄλλο τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἡδυνήθη καλύψαι ἢ ἐκείνου
 δικαιοσύνη; 4. ἐν τίνι δικαιωθῆναι δυνατὸν τοὺς
 ἀνόμους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἢ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ;
 5. ὡ τῆς γλυκείας ἀνταλλαγῆς, ὡ τῆς ἀνεξιχνιάστου
 δημιουργίας, ὡ τῶν ἀπροσδοκῆτων εὐεργεσιῶν· ἵνα
 ἀνομία μὲν πολλῶν ἐν δικαίῳ ἐνὶ κρυβῇ, δικαιοσύνη
 δὲ ἐνὸς πολλοὺς ἀνόμους δικαιώσῃ. 6. ἐλέγξας οὖν ἐν
 μὲν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ τὸ ἀδύνατον τῆς ἡμετέρας
 φύσεως εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν ζωῆς, νῦν δὲ τὸν σωτῆρα δείξας
 δυνατὸν σώζειν καὶ τὰ ἀδύνατα, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐβου-
 λήθη πιστεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ χρηστότητι αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν
 ἡγείσθαι τροφέα, πατέρα, διδάσκαλον, σύμβουλον,
 ἱατρόν, νοῦν, φῶς, τιμὴν, δόξαν, ἰσχύν, ζωὴν, περὶ
 ἐνδύσεως καὶ τροφῆς μὴ μεριμνᾶν.

²⁶ ὡ Pr: ὥς A

²⁷ καὶ ἀγαπῆς Lange: μία ἀγάπη A

clear that it could expect only punishment and death as its ultimate reward. But then, when the time arrived that God had planned to reveal at last his goodness and power (Oh, the supreme beneficence and love of God!), he did not hate us, destroy us, or hold a grudge against us. But he was patient, he bore with us, and out of pity for us he took our sins upon himself. He gave up his own Son as a ransom for us, the holy one for the lawless, the innocent one for the wicked, the righteous one for the unrighteous, the imperishable one for the perishable, the immortal one for the mortal. 3. For what else could hide our sins but the righteousness of that one? 4. How could we who were lawless and impious be made upright except by the Son of God alone? 5. Oh, the sweet exchange! Oh, the inexpressible creation! Oh, the unexpected acts of beneficence! That the lawless deeds of many should be hidden by the one who was upright, and the righteousness of one should make upright the many who were lawless! 6. Since he clearly demonstrated in the former time that we could not possibly, by our very nature, obtain life, and since he now revealed the savior who has the power to save even what is powerless—for both reasons he has wanted us to believe in his kindness, to consider him our nurse, father, teacher, counselor, physician, mind, light, honor, glory, strength, and life, and to have no concern over what to wear or eat.

²⁸ ἐλεῶν Lachmann: λέγων A: μὴ ἀγάπη h

Ταύτην καὶ σὺ τὴν πίστιν ἔαν ποθήσῃς, κατάλαβε²⁹ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίγνωσιν πατρός. 2. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠγάπησε, δι' οὓς ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον, οἷς ὑπέταξε πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, οἷς λόγον ἔδωκεν, οἷς νοῦν, οἷς μόνοις ἄνω πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρᾶν ἐπέτρεψεν, οὓς ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας εἰκόνας ἔπλασε, πρὸς οὓς ἀπέστειλε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, οἷς τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλείαν ἐπηγγείλατο καὶ δώσει τοῖς ἀγαπήσασιν αὐτόν. 3. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ τίνος οἶει πληρωθήσεσθαι χαρᾶς; ἢ πῶς ἀγαπήσεις τὸν οὕτως προαγαπήσαντά σε; 4. ἀγαπήσας δὲ μιμητὴς ἔσῃ αὐτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητος. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃς, εἰ δύναται μιμητὴς ἄνθρωπος γενέσθαι θεοῦ· δύναται θέλοντος αὐτοῦ. 5. οὐ γὰρ τὸ καταδυναστεύειν τῶν πλησίον οὐδὲ τὸ πλεόν ἔχειν βούλεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων οὐδὲ τὸ πλουτεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐστίν, οὐδὲ ἐν τούτοις δύναται τις μιμήσασθαι θεόν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλειότητος. 6. ἀλλ' ὅστις τὸ τοῦ πλησίον ἀναδέχεται βάρος, ὃς ἐν ᾧ κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἕτερον τὸν ἐλαττούμενον ἐνεργετῆν ἐθέλει, ὃς ἂν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν ἔχει, ταῦτα τοῖς ἐπιδεομένοις χορηγῶν, θεὸς γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων, οὗτος μιμητὴς ἐστὶ θεοῦ. 7. τότε θεάσῃ τυγχάνων ἐπὶ γῆς, ὅτι θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς πολιτεύεται, τότε μυστήρια θεοῦ λαλεῖν ἄρξῃ, τότε τοὺς κολαζομένους ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ θέλῃν ἀρνήσασθαι θεὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσεις καὶ θαυμάσεις· τότε

If you also long to have this faith, you must first acquire the knowledge of the Father. 2. For God loved humans, for whose sake he made the world, to whom he subjected everything on earth, to whom he gave reason, to whom he gave mind, whom alone he permitted to look up to him above, whom he formed out of his own likeness, to whom he sent his one and only Son, to whom he promised the kingdom in heaven. And he will give it to those who love him. 3. Once you have known him, with what sort of joy do you think you will be filled? Or how will you love the one who so loved you in advance? 4. But when you have loved him you will become an imitator of his kindness. And do not marvel that a person can become an imitator of God. It is possible, so long as he desires it. 5. For happiness is not a matter of oppressing your neighbors, or wishing to have more than those who are lowly, or being wealthy and coercing those who are in need. Nor is anyone able to imitate God in these ways, for they form no part of his greatness. 6. For whoever takes up the burden of his neighbor, whoever wants to use his own abundance to help someone in need, whoever provides for the destitute from the possessions he has received from God—himself becoming a god to those who receive them—this one is an imitator of God. 7. Then even while you happen to be on earth, you will see that God is conducting the affairs of heaven. Then you will begin to speak the mysteries of God. Then you will both love and admire those who are punished for not wanting to deny God. Then you will condemn the deceit and error of

²⁹ κατάλαβε Gebhardt: καὶ λάβης A

τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς πλάνης καταγνώσῃ, ὅταν τὸ ἀληθῶς ἐν οὐρανῷ ζῇν ἐπιγνῶς, ὅταν τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἐνθάδε θανάτου καταφρονήσῃς, ὅταν τὸν ὄντως θάνατον φοβηθῇς, ὃς φυλάσσεται τοῖς κατακριθησομένοις εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, ὃ τοὺς παραδοθέντας αὐτῷ μέχρι τέλους κολάσει. 8. τότε τοὺς ὑπομένοντας ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης θαυμάσεις τὸ πῦρ τὸ πρόσκαιρον καὶ μακαρίσεις, ὅταν ἐκεῖνο τὸ πῦρ ἐπιγνῶς.³⁰

11

Οὐ ξένα ὁμιλῶ οὐδὲ παραλόγως ζητῶ, ἀλλὰ ἀποστόλων γενόμενος μαθητῆς γίνομαι διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν. τὰ παραδοθέντα ἀξίως ὑπηρετῶ γινομένοις ἀληθείας μαθηταῖς. 2. τίς γὰρ ὀρθῶς διδαχθεὶς καὶ λόγῳ προσφιλῆς³¹ γεννηθεὶς³² οὐκ ἐπιζητεῖ σαφῶς μαθεῖν τὰ διὰ λόγου δειχθέντα φανερώς μαθηταῖς, οἷς ἐφάνέρωσεν ὁ λόγος φανείς, παρρησίᾳ λαλῶν, ὑπὸ ἀπίστων μὴ νοούμενος, μαθηταῖς δὲ διηγούμενος, οἱ πιστοὶ λογισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔγνωσαν πατρὸς μυστήρια; 3. οὐ χάριν ἀπέστειλε λόγον, ἵνα κόσμῳ φανῇ· ὃς ὑπὸ λαοῦ ἀτιμασθείς, διὰ ἀποστόλων κηρυχθείς, ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν ἐπιστεύθη. 4. οὗτος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὁ καινὸς φανείς καὶ

³⁰ The ms. indicates a lacuna and adds in the margin: καὶ ὧδε ἐγκοπὴν εἶχε τὸ (εἶχεν ὁ A) ἀντίγραφον A h

³¹ προσφιλῆς Pr: προσφιλεῖ A

³² γεννηθεὶς Pr: γεννηθείς A

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 11

the world, when you come to know the true life of heaven, when you despise that which merely seems to be death here and come to fear that which is truly death, which is preserved for those who are condemned to the eternal fire, which will punish those who are given over to it until the end of time. 8. And then, when you know that other fire, you will admire and bless those who endure the fleeting fire of the present for the sake of righteousness.³

11

I am neither saying anything strange nor engaging in an irrational investigation, but as a disciple of the apostles I am becoming a teacher of the nations. I worthily administer that which has been handed over to those who are becoming disciples of truth. 2. For who has been taught in the proper way and become friendly with [*Or pleasing to*] the word and yet does not seek to learn diligently the things that have been clearly shown the disciples through the word? The word appeared to them and revealed these things, speaking to them openly. Even though he was not understood by unbelievers, he told these things to his disciples, who after being considered faithful by him came to know the mysteries of the Father. 3. For this reason he sent his word, that it might be manifest to the world. This word was dishonored by the people⁴ but proclaimed by the apostles and believed by the nations. 4. This is the one who

³ The following two chapters appear to come from a different treatise; see Introduction. A gap is indicated in manuscript here.

⁴ I.e., the "chosen people."

παλαιὸς εὐρεθεὶς καὶ πάντοτε νέος ἐν ἀγίων καρδίαις
γεννώμενος. 5. οὗτος ὁ αἰεὶ, ὁ³³ σήμερον υἱὸς λογι-
σθείς, δι' οὗ πλουτίζεται ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ χάρις ἀπλου-
μένη ἐν ἀγίοις πληθύνεται, παρέχουσα νοῦν, φανεροῦ-
σα μυστήρια, διαγγέλλουσα καιροὺς, χαίρουσα ἐπὶ
πιστοῖς, ἐπιζητοῦσι δωρουμένη, οἷς ὄρκια³⁴ πίστεως
οὐ θραύεται οὐδὲ ὅρια πατέρων παρορίζεται. 6. εἴτα
φόβος νόμου ἄδεται, καὶ προφητῶν χάρις γινώσκεται,
καὶ εὐαγγελίων πίστις ἱδρύται, καὶ ἀποστόλων
παράδοσις φυλάσσεται, καὶ ἐκκλησίας χάρις σκιρτᾷ.
7. ἥν χάριν μὴ λυπῶν ἐπιγνώσῃ, ἃ λόγος ὁμιλεῖ δι' ὧν
βούλεται, ὅτε θέλει. 8. ὅσα γὰρ θελήματι τοῦ κελεύ-
οντος λόγου ἐκινήθημεν ἐξειπεῖν μετὰ πόνου, ἐξ
ἀγάπης τῶν ἀποκαλυφθέντων ἡμῖν γινόμεθα ὑμῖν
κοινωνοί.

12

Οἷς ἐντυχόντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες μετὰ σπουδῆς
εἴσεσθε, ὅσα παρέχει ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν ὀρθῶς, οἱ
γενόμενοι παράδειτος τρυφῆς, πάγκαρπον ξύλον εὐ-
θαλοῦν ἀνατείλαντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ποικίλοις καρποῖς
κεκοσμημένοι. 2. ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ ξύλον
γνώσεως καὶ ξύλον ζωῆς πεφύτευται· ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ τῆς
γνώσεως ἀναιρεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ παρακοὴ ἀναιρεῖ. 3. οὐδὲ
γὰρ ἄσῃμα τὰ γεγραμμένα, ὡς θεὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ξύλον

³³ ὁ Lachmann: om. A

³⁴ ὄρκια Lachmann: ὅρια A

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 12

was from the beginning, who appeared to be recent but was discovered to be ancient, who is always being born anew in the hearts of the saints. 5. This is the eternal one who “today” is considered to be the Son, through whom the church is enriched and unfolding grace is multiplied among the saints. This grace provides understanding, manifests mysteries, proclaims the seasons, rejoices in the faithful, and is given to those who seek, among whom pledges of faith are not broken and the boundaries of the fathers are not transgressed. 6. Then the fear of the law is sung, the grace of the prophets is made known, the faith of the Gospels is established, the tradition of the apostles is guarded, and the grace of the church leaps for joy. 7. If you do not bring this grace to grief you will understand what the word says, through whom it wishes and when it wants. 8. For we have become partners with you through our love of all those things that have been revealed to us, which we have been driven to address painfully, by the will of the word that gives us our orders.

12

When you read these things and hear them eagerly, you will know what God provides for those who love properly, you who have become a paradise of luxury, who have made a fertile and fruitful tree spring up in yourselves, you who are laden with various kinds of fruit. 2. For in this place were planted a tree of knowledge and a tree of life. But it is not the tree of knowledge that kills; rather, it is disobedience. 3. Nor is that which is written obscure, how at the be-

γνώσεως καὶ³⁵ ξύλον ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ παραδείσου ἐφύ-
τευσε, διὰ γνώσεως ζωὴν ἐπιδεικνύς· ἢ μὴ καθαρῶς
χρησάμενοι οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πλάνη τοῦ ὄψεως γεγύμνω-
ται. 4. οὐδὲ γὰρ ζωὴ ἄνευ γνώσεως οὐδὲ γνώσις
ἀσφαλὴς ἄνευ ζωῆς ἀληθοῦς· διὸ πλησίον ἐκάτερον
πεφύτευται. 5. ἣν δύναμιν ἐνιδὼν ὁ ἀπόστολος τὴν τε
ἄνευ ἀληθείας προστάγματος εἰς ζωὴν ἀσκουμένην
γνώσιν μεμφόμενος λέγει· ἡ γνώσις φυσιοῖ, ἡ δὲ
ἀγάπη οἰκοδομεῖ. 6. ὁ γὰρ νομίζων εἰδέναι τι ἄνευ
γνώσεως ἀληθοῦς καὶ μαρτυρουμένης ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς,
οὐκ ἔγνω· ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄψεως πλανᾶται, μὴ ἀγαπήσας τὸ
ζῆν. ὁ δὲ μετὰ φόβον ἐπιγνούς καὶ ζωὴν ἐπιζητῶν ἐπ'
ἐλπίδι φυτεύει, καρπὸν προσδοκῶν. 7. ἤτω σοι καρδία
γνώσις, ζωὴ δὲ λόγος ἀληθής, χωρούμενος. 8. οὗ
ξύλον φέρων καὶ καρπὸν αἰρῶν τρυγήσεις αἰεὶ τὰ
παρὰ θεῷ ποθούμενα, ὧν ὄφεις οὐχ ἄπτεται οὐδὲ πλάνη
συγχρωτίζεται· οὐδὲ Εὐὰ φθείρεται, ἀλλὰ παρθένος
πιστεύεται. 9. καὶ σωτήριον δείκνυται, καὶ ἀπόστολοι
συνετίζονται, καὶ τὸ κυρίου πάσχα προέρχεται, καὶ
καιροὶ³⁶ συνάγονται καὶ μετὰ κόσμον ἀρμόζονται,³⁷
καὶ διδάσκων ἀγίους ὁ λόγος εὐφραίνεται, δι' οὗ
πατὴρ δοξάζεται· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

³⁵ ξύλον γνώσεως καὶ Bunsen: om. A

³⁶ καιροὶ Sylburg: κηροὶ A

³⁷ ἀρμόζονται b: ἀρμόζεται A

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS 12

ginning God planted “a tree of knowledge and a tree of life in the middle of paradise,”⁵ thereby revealing life through knowledge. But those who were there at the beginning made use of it in an impure way, and became naked through the deceit of the serpent. 4. For life cannot exist apart from knowledge nor secure knowledge apart from true life. For this reason each was planted next to the other. 5. When the apostle considered this marvel he criticized knowledge that is exercised apart from the true command that leads to life, saying “Knowledge puffs, up but love builds up.”⁶ 6. For the one who thinks he knows anything apart from the knowledge that is true and attested by life does not know; he is deceived by the serpent and does not love life. But the one who has come to know with reverential fear, and who seeks life, plants in hope and expects to receive fruit. 7. Let your heart be knowledge and your life be the true, comprehensible word. 8. If you bear this tree and pluck its fruit, you will always harvest what God desires. The serpent cannot touch such things nor can deceit defile them. Nor is Eve corrupted, but a virgin is trusted [*Or: but is believed on as a virgin*]. 9. And salvation is shown, and the apostles are given understanding, and the Passover of the Lord moves onward, and the seasons are gathered together and made harmonious with the world, and the word rejoices by teaching the saints. Through the word is the Father glorified. To him be the glory forever. Amen.

⁵ Cf. Gen 2:17; 3:24.

⁶ 1 Cor 8:1.

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

INTRODUCTION

The *Shepherd* of Hermas was one of the most popular books of early Christianity. Judging from the manuscript remains, it was copied and read more widely in the second and third centuries than any other noncanonical book, even more than many of the books that later came to be included in the New Testament.

The *Shepherd* recounts a series of revelations and direct angelic communications to a prophet named Hermas, a Christian from early to mid second-century Rome. Like other ancient apocalypses, the book is ultimately concerned to reveal the divine truths that affect earthly realities, and to that extent there is some focus on the future course of human events, especially a time of tribulation that Christians will experience before the end of the age, soon to arrive. But even more the book deals with problems of Christian existence in the here and now, especially the problems of sin and repentance, of Christians remaining faithful to God and returning to him if they have gone astray. It is particularly invested in the question of whether Christians can have an opportunity to repent, if they sin after being baptized. The short answer is that they do have a second chance—but no more.

The book receives its title from the principal angelic mediator and protector of Hermas, the “angel of repen-

INTRODUCTION

tance," who comes to him, part way through the narrative (Vision 5), in the guise of a shepherd.

Overview

The *Shepherd* of Hermas is divided into three sections, given in the manuscripts as a series of five "Visions," twelve "Commandments," and ten "Parables." There is considerable overlap among these groups: revelatory parables, for example, are found not only in the final section but in the earlier two as well, and by far the longest unit in the book, the ninth Parable, is a detailed explication of what the author sees in the third Vision. Moreover, many of the themes of each section are repeated and developed in others, especially the overarching themes of sin and repentance, but also more specific issues such as wealth and poverty, family relations, business dealings, and indecision towards God ("doublemindedness").

The book begins on an ostensibly autobiographical note (scholars debate whether the self-references are historical or fictional) as Hermas, a freed slave, becomes reacquainted after some years with his former owner, an attractive woman named Rhoda, whose beauty and demeanor he admires after observing her bathe in the Tiber river. Soon afterwards he has a vision of Rhoda speaking to him from the sky, telling him that she has been taken up to heaven to accuse him before God because of his evil desire for her. The vision upsets Hermas and drives him to ponder how he might find forgiveness for his sins.

In answer to his reflections, he is met by an elderly woman, who, in a series of different guises, provides him with the revelations that make up most of Visions 1–4.

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

Each Vision in fact comprises not just one but a series of revelations: in the “second” Vision, for example, Hermas first sees the elderly woman, representing the church, reading a book (ch. 5); he is then given a revelation concerning the meaning of the words of the book (ch. 6); next he has a vision of a young man who speaks to him about the identity of the elderly woman (8.1); and finally the elderly woman herself appears to him again (8.2).

The visions of this opening section of the book include revelations about the sins of Hermas’s own family, a vision of the upcoming tribulation in the image of a terrifying monster, and a vision of the “tower” of the church that is being supernaturally constructed on earth out of different kinds of stone of varying utility—the most enduring image of the book, which will receive fuller treatment in the ninth Parable.

In the fifth Vision a new revelatory agent is introduced, the angelic figure called the Shepherd, the angel set over repentance, who becomes Hermas’s guide, interpreter, and instructor for the rest of the account. It is the Shepherd who delivers the twelve Commandments, each of which, again, consists not of a single commandment but of a series of injunctions covering a wide range of ethical concerns involving personal, sexual, and family relations. Some portions of the Commandments resemble the “two paths” teaching found in Barnabas and the *Didache*, and we are told in fact that there are two angels who influence humans (ch. 36), just as God’s creations and human inclinations are twofold (ch. 38).

Following the set of Commandments, the Shepherd then reveals, and usually explains, the ten “Parables,” some of which again comprise a series of revelations, alle-

INTRODUCTION

gories, and parabolic visions. These involve such matters as the nature of Christian existence in this alien world, the relationship of the rich and poor in the church, the need for sexual purity, the hope for repentance in the face of the coming end, the differences among people who react in varying ways to the truth of God, leading to their acceptance into or rejection from the church, and the like. The eighth and ninth Parables—allegorical visions of various sticks representing different kinds of people in the world and of various stones that make up the tower (of the church) under construction—are far and away the longest sections of the book, making up nearly two-fifths of the whole. The book ends with instructions to Hermas to carry out his ministry by urging others to engage in good works before it is too late and the construction of the tower of the church is completed.

Integrity, Authorship, and Date

In view of the disparate material scattered throughout the *Shepherd*, scholars since the nineteenth century have debated whether the work was originally all of a piece or instead represents several works, possibly of different authors, secondarily combined into one long book. There may be manuscript support for the latter view (see Osiek): one of the surviving manuscripts, the Bodmer papyrus (4th or 5th century) may well have contained only Visions 1–4, whereas another, the third-century Michigan papyrus, evidently preserved only the other portions of the text, Vision 5 to the end of the Parables. Moreover, even a quick perusal of the book's contents shows striking differences among its various sections: the elderly woman who repre-

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

sents the "church" is the divine revealer and interpreter in Visions 1–4, but then disappears for the rest of the book; the shepherd, on the other hand, is absent in this earlier portion but assumes a similar role beginning in Vision 5 to the end. In addition, there appear to be internal discrepancies throughout the book, for example, between the earlier simple vision of the building of the tower in the third vision and the much fuller explication of the image in the ninth Parable.

And so some modern scholars have argued that the book is a composite piece, with portions written at different times and by different authors (Giet). Others have countered this view, pointing out that (a) when Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria, two of our earliest witnesses to the book (earlier than either of the manuscripts mentioned above), quote the text, they refer to portions of the book that were supposedly, according to this view, circulating independently of one another (this would suggest that the book was a unity from the outset), and (b) extensive similarities tie the various sections of the book together, for example, the emphasis on sin, repentance, doublemindedness, purity, and the like (Joly, Henne; see Osiek). As a result, some have maintained that the author wrote different sections of the book at different times, creating the apparent difficulties. Brox, for example, maintains that Visions 1–4 were written first; then, somewhat later, Vision 5 through Parable 8; and finally, at a still later time, Parables 9–10. One more recent suggestion is that the composite character of the book results from its origin as an oral, rather than a written, text (Osiek). In any event, the majority of scholars today appear to favor the notion of a solitary author.

INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to say much about the author's identity apart from the autobiographical information he himself provides, assuming that this information is to be taken as historical self-description. He was evidently a freedman who lived in Rome (thus references to the Tiber in ch. 1 and the Via Campana in ch. 22) and involved with the church there, but not as one of its leaders, of whom he speaks in the third person. His general moral concerns, somewhat superficial theological reflections, especially with regard to christology (e.g., in Parables 5 and 9), and general literary skill have made most interpreters suspect that he was not among the intellectual elite in the church. In any event, some scholars have seen his text as ripe for a sociohistorical analysis of the church in Rome (see Osiek, Maier, Lampe, and Jeffers).

Similar considerations have contributed to the view that he was writing some time early in the second century. It is worth noting, for example, that Hermas speaks of the "presbyters" and the "bishops" of the church in Rome (and other leaders, such as apostles, deacons, and teachers), but says nothing about a solitary bishop. Moreover, never does Hermas quote other books that later came to be accepted into the canon as authoritative: his only explicit quotation is of a now-lost work, the *Book of Eldad and Modat* (7.4). Several other considerations have often played a role in determining his date; unfortunately, these considerations do not harmonize well with one another:

(a) At the beginning of the third century, Origen maintained that this Hermas was none other than the person mentioned by the apostle Paul in Romans 16:14.

(b) Hermas himself mentions someone named "Clement" in the second Vision (8.2), and indicates that he was a

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

kind of foreign correspondent for the Roman church. It has frequently been thought that this is the same person ultimately responsible for the book of 1 Clement, written in the mid 90s (according to Eusebius, the third bishop of Rome).

(c) The Muratorian Canon – a list of books that belong to the New Testament, produced possibly in the second half of the second century—indicates that the *Shepherd* is not to be included among the Scriptures because it was written “recently” by Hermas, while his brother, Pius, was serving as the bishop of Rome. Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.* 4, 11) indicates that Pius was bishop from 140 to 154.

It is difficult to reconcile these three indications of a proximate date for the book, since the time between Paul’s letter to the Romans (early 60s?) and Pius of Rome is some 80–90 years. It may be, in any event, that Origen was simply making a best guess at the identity of Hermas, wanting to make his book “apostolic” (Origen cites it as a scriptural authority), and that, on the other hand, the author of the Muratorian canon was trying to distance Hermas from the times of the apostles, since he did not consider the book on a par with the emerging Christian Scriptures (the date of the Muratorian canon is itself a matter of dispute; see Osiek and the literature she cites). Moreover, the reference to Clement of Rome is not altogether useful, since 1 Clement never mentions this person, let alone claims him as its author (see Introduction there). It is true that Eusebius locates Clement as bishop of Rome towards the end of the first century, but it is possible that Clement assumed a variety of roles in the Roman congregation at different times (on whether Clement was actually a “bishop,” see Introduction to 1 Clement).

INTRODUCTION

We are left with general considerations of theme, theology, and presumed historical and ecclesiastical situation to date the book. These suggest that it was written, possibly over a stretch of time, during the early part of the second century, perhaps 110–40 CE.

Early Reception, Manuscript Tradition, and Abbreviations

The *Shepherd* is cited by a number of early church writers in both the East and West (Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Terullian, Origen, Jerome, Augustine, and others; see Osiek), some of whom (e.g., Clement of Alexandria) considered it to be Scripture, others of whom (Athanasius and the author of the Muratorian canon) considered it noncanonical but useful for reading. It was also accorded canonical standing in several surviving manuscripts: the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus, for example, includes it, along with the Epistle of Barnabas, among the books of the New Testament, and it is cited as canonical in a list preserved in a New Testament manuscript of the sixth-century, the Greek-Latin Codex Claromontanus (along with the Epistle of Barnabas, the Acts of Paul, and the Apocalypse of Peter).

The *editio princeps* (from the Latin Vulgate; see below) was published by J. Le Fèvre d'Étaples in 1513 in Paris (*Liber trium vivorum et trium spiritualium virginum*); the first attempt at a critical edition was made by Cotelier in 1672, based on the Latin text and several then available Greek fragments. The fuller Greek text was not discovered until the mid-nineteenth century, and even now the Greek of the entire book is not completely preserved: no Greek is

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

extant for the concluding chapters (most of 107.3–114.5). The following are the principal witnesses to the text.

Greek

- A Codex Athous (15th c.; chs. 1–107; nearly complete)
- S Codex Sinaiticus (4th c.; 1.1–31.6; nearly the first fourth of the book)
- M Michigan Papyrus 129 (mid 3rd c.; chs. 51.8–82.1; most of the Parables)
- B Bodmer Papyrus 38 (late 4th or early 5th c.; chs. 1–21; the first three Visions)
- F Florilegium of Patristic texts (Paris gr. 1143; 13th c.; with five fragments of the *Shepherd*: 52:8–10; 56:4–9; 66:4–5; 100:3–5; and 110: 1–3)

In addition, there are nearly twenty fragmentary Greek papyri, most of them from the 3rd–5th centuries (see Horseley and Llewelyn and the Oxyrynchus Papyri). Those cited in the apparatus are as follows.

P^{Am} Amherst Papyrus 190 (7 fragments; 5–6th c.)

- (1) 2.2–3.1
- (2) 20.3; 21.3
- (3) 44.1, 3
- (4) 27.1–2, 4–5
- (5) 89.2–3, 5
- (6) 94.1, 3–4
- (7) 107.1–2, 3–4

P^{Ber} four Berlin Papyri

- 5104 (32.4–33.2, 3–4; 5th c.)
- 5513 (51.7–10; 53.2–5; 3rd c.)
- 6789 (67.1–12; 6th c.)
- 13272 (54.5–55.2, 4–6; 4th c.)

INTRODUCTION

- P^{Ham} Hamburg Papyrus 24 (53.6–54.5; 4–5th c.)
P^M Michigan Papyrus 130 (27.6–28.1; 2nd c.)
P^{Ox} eight Oxyrynchus Papyri
 5 (43.9–10; 3–4th c.)
 404 (113.2–5; 114.3–4; 3–4th c.)
 1172 (51.4–10; 4th c.)
 1599 (72.4–74.3; 4th c.)
 1783 (39.2–3; 4–5; 4th c.)
 1828 (65.3, 5; 3rd c.)
 3526 (34.3–35.2; 4th c.)
 3527 (70.1–71.2; 3rd c.)

Latin

L¹ Vulgate (in several mss; the translation is normally dated to the 2nd c.); manuscripts of this version are cited in the apparatus where only the Latin is preserved, as follows.

- S Codex Sangallensis 151 (10th c.)
A Codex Augiensis 183 (9th c.)
O Codex Oxoniensis Bodleianus Laud. Misc. 488 (12th c.)
Z Reconstructed (lost) archetype of about 10 more recent mss.

L² Palatine (in two mss of the 15th century; the translation is normally dated to the 4th c.)

There are also translations of all or parts of the book into Ethiopic (E; possibly 6th c.; rather paraphrastic), Coptic (fragmentary copies of both Akhmimic from the 4th c. [C¹] and Sahidic from the 5th [C²]), Middle Persian, and Georgian (made from a lost Arabic translation).

The traditional mode of citation of the book, according to section (Visions, Commandments, Parables) and chap-

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ters and verses within each section (for example, Vision 3.13.2) was replaced in Molly Whittaker's 1956 edition by consecutively numbered chapters. This has caused some confusion over the years, as scholars have used either one or both of these systems. The text and translation here follow Whittaker's chapter numbers, with the more traditional references given in parentheses.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bonner, C. *A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas*. University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 22. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1934.
- Brox, Norbert. *Der Hirt des Hermas*. KAV 7. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1991.
- Carlini, A., and Luigi Ciaccone, eds. *Papyrus Bodmer XXXVIII: Erma: Il Pastore*. Cologny-Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1991.
- Dibelius, M. *Der Hirt des Hermas. Die apostolischen Väter*. HNT 4. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1923.
- Giet, Stanislas. *Hermas et les pasteurs: Les Trois Auteurs du Pasteur d'Hermas*. Paris: Presses universitaires du France, 1963.
- Henne, Philippe. *La Christologie chez Clément de Rome et dans le Pasteur d'Hermas*. Freiburg, Suisse: Éditions universitaires, 1992.
- . *L'Unité du Pasteur d'Hermas: Tradition et rédaction*. CahRB 31. Paris: J. Gabalda, 1992.
- Horsley, G. H. R., and S. R. Llewelyn, eds. *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. Sydney: Ancient History Documentary Research Center, Macquarie University Press, 1981–98; 2.160–61.

INTRODUCTION

- Jeffers, James S. *Conflict at Rome: Social Order and Hierarchy in Early Christianity*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991.
- Joly, Robert. *Hermas: Le Pasteur: introduction, texte, critique, traduction et notes*. SC 53. Paris: Cerf, 1958; repr 1978.
- Lampe, Peter. *Die Stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten: Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte*. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1987.
- Lappa-Zizicas, Eurydice. "Cinq fragments du Pasteur d'Hermas dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris." *RSR* 53 (1965) 251–56.
- Maier, Harry O. *The Social Setting of the Ministry as Reflected in the Writings of Hermas, Clement and Ignatius*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991.
- Osiek, Carolyn. *Shepherd of Hermas*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999.
- The Oxyrhynchus Papri*, vol. 50. London: British Academy, 1983; 14–21.
- Snyder, Graydon F. *The Shepherd of Hermas*. Vol 6 of *The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary*, ed. R. M. Grant. Camden, N.J.: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1968.
- Whittaker, Molly. *Der Hirt des Hermas. Die apostolischen Väter*. Vol. I. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1956; 2d ed., 1967.
- Wilson, J. C. *Five Problems in the Interpretation of the Shepherd of Hermas: Authorship, Genre, Canonicity, Apocalyptic, and the Absence of the Name 'Jesus Christ.'* Lewiston: Mellen Biblical Press, 1995.

ΠΟΙΜΗΝ

“Ορασις α’

1 (1.1)

‘Ο θρέψας με πέπρακέν με ‘Ρόδη τινὶ¹ εἰς ‘Ρώμην·
μετὰ πολλὰ ἔτη ταύτην ἀνεγνωρισάμην καὶ ἡρξάμην
αὐτὴν ἀγαπᾶν ὡς ἀδελφὴν. 2. μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ λου-
ομένην εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Τίβεριν εἶδον καὶ ἐπέδωκα
αὐτῇ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐξήγαγον αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ.
ταύτης οὖν ἰδὼν τὸ κάλλος διελογιζόμενην ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ
μου λέγων· μακάριος ἦμην εἰ τοιαύτην γυναῖκα εἶχον
καὶ τῷ κάλλει καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ. μόνον τοῦτο ἐβουλευ-
σάμην, ἕτερον δὲ οὐδέν. 3. μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ πορευο-
μένου μου εἰς κώμας² καὶ δοξάζοντος τὰς κτίσεις τοῦ
θεοῦ, ὡς μεγάλαι καὶ ἐκπρεπεῖς καὶ δυναταὶ εἰσιν,
περιπατῶν ἀφύπνωσα. καὶ πνεῦμά με ἔλαβεν καὶ
ἀπήνεγκέν με δι’ ἀνοδίας τινός, δι’ ἧς ἄνθρωπος οὐκ
ἐδύνατο ὁδεύσαι· ἦν δὲ ὁ τόπος κρημνώδης καὶ
ἀπερρηγῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων. διαβὰς οὖν τὸν ποταμὸν
ἐκείνον ἦλθον εἰς τὰ ὁμαλά, καὶ τιθῶ τὰ γόνατα καὶ

Titulus] Ποιμην S: *Liber pastoris nuntii paenitentiae* L¹:
Hermæ prophetæ E: Ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ βίβλου λεγομένης

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

Vision One

1 (I.1)

The one who raised me sold me to a certain woman named Rhoda, in Rome. After many years, I regained her acquaintance and began to love her as a sister. 2. When some time had passed, I saw her bathing in the Tiber river; and I gave her my hand to help her out of the river. When I observed her beauty I began reasoning in my heart, "I would be fortunate to have a wife of such beauty and character." This is all I had in mind, nothing else. 3. When some time had passed, I was traveling to the countryside, glorifying the creations of God and thinking how great, remarkable, and powerful they are. On the way I fell asleep and a spirit took me and carried me through a certain deserted place that was impassable, for the place was steep and split up by the courses of water. When I crossed the river I came to

Ποιμήν. "Ορασις α' A: (*Incipit libellus sancti pastoris. Incipit visio prima quam vidit Herma* L²: οραξ[...] B

¹ πέπρακέν με ῥόδη τινὶ S L² E [B]: πέπρακε πρὸς γυναικά τινα A (L¹) ² κώμας S A B E: Κούμας cj. Dindorf: cum his L¹: civitatem Ostiorum L²

ἡρξάμην προσεύχεσθαι τῷ κυρίῳ³ καὶ ἑξομολογεῖσθαι μου τὰς ἀμαρτίας. 4. προσευχομένου δέ μου ἡνοίγη ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ βλέπω τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκείνην ἣν ἐπεθύμησα ἀσπαζομένην με ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, λέγουσαν· Ἐρμᾶ, χαῖρε. 5. βλέψας δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν λέγω αὐτῇ· κυρία, τί σὺ ὧδε ποιεῖς; ἡ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη μοι· ἀνελήμφθην ἵνα σου τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐλέγξω πρὸς τὸν κύριον. 6. λέγω αὐτῇ· νῦν σύ μου ἔλεγχος εἶ; οὐ, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ ἄκουσον τὰ ῥήματα ἃ σοι μέλλω λέγειν. ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ κτίσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος τὰ ὄντα καὶ πληθύνας καὶ αὐξήσας ἕνεκεν τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ ὀργίζεται σοι ὅτι ἡμαρτες εἰς ἐμέ. 7. ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῇ λέγω· εἰς σὲ ἡμαρτον; ποίῳ τρόπῳ;⁴ ἡ πότε σοι αἰσχροὺς ῥήματα ἐλάλησα; οὐ πάντοτέ σε ὡς θεᾶν⁵ ἡγησάμην;⁶ οὐ πάντοτέ σε ἐνετράπην ὡς ἀδελφὴν; τί μου καταψεύδῃ, ὦ γύναι, τὰ πονηρὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἀκάθαρτα; 8. γελάσασά μοι λέγει· ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀνέβη ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῆς πονηρίας.⁷ ἡ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἀνδρὶ δικαίῳ πονηρὸν πρᾶγμα εἶναι ἐὰν ἀναβῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἡ πονηρὰ ἐπιθυμία; ἀμαρτία γέ ἐστιν καὶ μεγάλη, φησὶν. ὁ γὰρ δίκαιος ἀνὴρ δίκαια βουλευέται. ἐν τῷ οὖν δίκαια βουλευέσθαι αὐτὸν κατορθοῦται ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ εὐκατάλλακτον ἔχει τὸν κύριον ἐν παντὶ πράγματι αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ πονηρὰ βουλευόμενοι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν θάνατον καὶ αἰχμαλωτισμὸν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισπῶνται, μάλιστα οἱ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦτον περιποιούμενοι καὶ γαυριῶντες ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἀντεχόμενοι

level ground and bowed my knees; and I began praying to the Lord and confessing my sins. 4. While I was praying the sky opened up and I saw the woman I had desired, addressing me from heaven: "Hermas, greetings!" I looked at her and said, "Lady, what are you doing here?" 5. She replied to me, "I have been taken up to accuse you of your sins before the Lord." 6. I said to her, "So now are you accusing me?" "No," she said, "but listen to what I have to say to you. The God who dwells in heaven and who, for the sake of his holy church, created, increased, and multiplied that which exists out of that which does not exist, is angry at you for sinning against me." 7. I answered her, "Have I sinned against you? In what way? When did I speak an inappropriate word to you? Have I not always thought of you as a goddess? Have I not always respected you as a sister? Why do you make such evil and foul accusations against me, O woman?" 8. But she laughed and said to me, "The desire for evil did rise up in your heart. Or do you not think it is evil for an evil desire to arise in the heart of an upright man? Indeed," she said, "it is a great sin. For the upright man intends to do what is right. And so, when he intends to do what is right his reputation is firmly established in heaven and he finds that the Lord looks favorably on everything he does. But those who intend in their hearts to do evil bring death and captivity on themselves—especially those who are invested in this age, who rejoice in their

³ κυρίῳ A B L L E: θεῷ S

⁴ τρόπῳ S^c A L² (E): τόπῳ S B L¹

⁵ θεᾶν S B L¹: θυγατέρα A: *dominam meam* E

⁶ οὐ . . . ἡγησάμην S A B L¹ E: om. L²

⁷ πονηρίας S B L L E: πορνείας A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν μελλόντων. 9. μεταμελήσονται⁸ αἱ ψυχαὶ αὐτῶν, οἷτινες οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐλπίδα, ἀλλὰ ἐαυτοὺς ἀπεγνώκασιν καὶ τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ σὺ προσεύχου πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἰάσεται τὰ ἁμαρτήματά σου καὶ ὅλου τοῦ οἴκου σου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων.

2 (1.2)

Μετὰ τὸ λαλήσαι αὐτὴν τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἐκλείσθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί· καὶ γὰρ ὅλος ἤμην πεφρικῶς καὶ λυπούμενος. ἔλεγον δὲ ἐν ἑμαυτῷ· εἰ αὕτη μοι ἡ ἁμαρτία ἀναγράφεται, πῶς δυνήσομαι σωθῆναι; ἢ πῶς ἐξιλάσομαι τὸν θεὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μου τῶν τελείων; ποίοις⁹ ῥήμασιν ἐρωτήσω τὸν κύριον ἵνα ἰλατεύσηταί μοι; 2. ταῦτά μου συμβουλευομένου καὶ διακρίνοντος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου βλέπω κατέναντί μου καθέδραν λευκὴν ἐξ ἐρίων χιονίνων γεγωνυῖαν μεγάλην· καὶ ἦλθεν γυνὴ πρεσβύτις ἐν ἱματισμῷ λαμπροτάτῳ, ἔχουσα βιβλίον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ἐκάθισεν μόνη καὶ ἀσπάζεται με· Ἑρμᾶ, χαῖρε. καὶ γὰρ λυπούμενος καὶ κλαίων εἶπον· κυρία, χαῖρε. 3. καὶ εἶπέν μοι· τί στυγνός, Ἑρμᾶ ὁ μακρόθυμος, ὁ ἀστομάχητος, ὁ πάντοτε γελῶν; τί οὕτως κατηφὴς τῇ ἰδέᾳ καὶ οὐχ ἰλαρός; καὶ γὰρ εἶπον αὐτῇ· ὑπὸ¹⁰ γυναικὸς ἀγαθωτάτης λεγούσης μοι¹¹ ὅτι ἤμαρτον εἰς αὐτήν. 4. ἡ δὲ ἔφη· μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ τὸν δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο. ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου

wealth and do not cling to the good things yet to come. 9. Those who have no hope but have already abandoned themselves and their lives will regret it. But pray to God, and he will heal your sins, along with those of your entire household and of all the saints.”

2 (I.2)

After she had spoken these words, the skies were shut; I was trembling all over and upset. I began saying to myself, “If this sin is recorded against me, how can I be saved? Or how will I appease God for the sins I have recently committed? What words can I use to ask the Lord for mercy?” 2. While I was mulling these things over in my heart and trying to reach a decision, I saw across from me a large white chair, made of wool, white as snow. And an elderly woman came, dressed in radiant clothes and holding a book in her hands. She sat down, alone, and addressed me, “Greetings, Hermas.” And I said, still upset and weeping, “Greetings Lady.” 3. She said to me, “Why are you sad, Hermas—you who are patient, slow to anger, and always laughing? Why are you so downcast, and not cheerful?” I replied to her, “Because of a very good woman who has been telling me that I sinned against her.” 4. And she said, “May such a thing never happen to a slave of God! But probably something did rise up in your heart about her.

⁸ μεταμελήσονται B: μετανοήσουσιν S (E): πολλὰ μεταμελήσουσιν A: *vagantur* L¹: *non resistent hisdem luxuriis* L²

⁹ ποίοις S A B L¹: ἡ ποίος Sa^c L² E

¹⁰ ὑπὸ PAm vid. L² B E: add τινος A: κυρία ὀνίδισμός μοι γέγονεν ὑπὸ Sc L¹ ¹¹ μοι B A L² E: om. S L¹

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ἀνέβη περὶ αὐτῆς. ἔστιν μὲν τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ τοιαύτη βουλή ἀμαρτίαν ἐπιφέρουσα· πονηρὰ γὰρ βουλή καὶ ἔκπληκτος εἰς πάνσεμνον πνεῦμα καὶ ἥδη δεδοκιμασμένον, ἐὰν ἐπιθυμήσῃ πονηρὸν ἔργον, καὶ μάλιστα Ἑρμᾶς ὁ ἐγκρατής, ὁ ἀπεχόμενος πάσης ἐπιθυμίας πονηρᾶς καὶ πλήρης πάσης ἀπλότητος καὶ ἀκακίας μεγάλης.

3 (1.3)

Ἄλλ' οὐχ ἔνεκα τούτου σοι ὀργίζεται ὁ θεός, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸν οἶκόν σου τὸν ἀνομήσαντα εἰς τὸν κύριον καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψῃς.¹² ἀλλὰ φιλότεκνος ὢν οὐκ ἐνουθέτεις σου τὸν οἶκον, ἀλλὰ ἀφήκης αὐτὸν καταφθαρῆναι δεινῶς.¹³ διὰ τοῦτο ὀργίζεται σοι ὁ κύριος· ἀλλὰ ἰάσεται σοι πάντα τὰ προγεγονότα πονηρὰ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου· διὰ γὰρ τὰς ἐκείνων ἀμαρτίας καὶ ἀνομήματα σὺ κατεφθάρης ἀπὸ τῶν βιωτικῶν πράξεων. 2. ἀλλ' ἡ πολυσπλαγχνία τοῦ κυρίου ἡλέησέν σε καὶ τὸν οἶκόν σου καὶ ἰσχυροποιήσῃ σε καὶ θεμελιώσῃ σε ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ. σὺ μόνον μὴ ῥαθυμῆσῃς, ἀλλὰ εὐψύχει καὶ ἰσχυροποιεῖ σου τὸν οἶκον. ὥς γὰρ ὁ χαλκεὺς σφυροκοπῶν τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ περιγίνεται τοῦ πράγματος οὗ θέλει, οὕτω καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ καθημερινὸς ὁ δίκαιος περιγίνεται πάσης πονηρίας. μὴ διαλίπῃς οὖν νουθετῶν σου τὰ τέκνα· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ἐὰν μετανοήσουσιν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας αὐτῶν, ἐνγραφῇσονται¹⁴ εἰς τὰς βίβλους τῆς ζωῆς μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων.

VISIONS 3 (I.3)

This kind of idea carries the slaves of God into sin. For when someone longs to do what is evil, it is an evil and shocking idea, directed against a fully reverend and tested spirit—especially for Hermas, the self-controlled, who abstains from every evil desire and is full of all simplicity and great innocence.

3 (I.3)

“Still, God is angry with you, not about this, but so that you may convert your household, which has acted lawlessly against the Lord and against you, their parents. But since you yourself are so fond of your children you do not admonish your household, and so you allow it to be terribly ruined. This is why the Lord is angry with you. But he will heal every evil your household formerly committed. For you yourself have been brought to ruin by the affairs of daily life—because of their sins and lawless acts. 2. But the Lord’s compassion has granted you and your household mercy, and it will make you strong and establish you in its glory. But you must not relax; instead, take courage and strengthen your household. For as the coppersmith hammers his work to master the material as he wants, so also the upright word spoken every day masters all evil. Do not stop exhorting your children. For I know that if they repent from their whole heart, they will be recorded with the saints in the books of the living.” 3. When she finished

¹² ἐπιστρέψης Sc B PAm A: ἐπιστρέψη S

¹³ δεινῶς B A L L E: om. S PAm

¹⁴ ὅτι ἐὰν . . . ἐνγραφῇσονται S (A) E: ὅτι . . . καὶ ἐνγραφῇσονται B L L

3. μετὰ τὸ παῖναι αὐτῆς τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα λέγει μοι· θέλεις ἀκουσαί μου ἀναγινωσκούσης; λέγω καὶ γὼ· θέλω, κυρία. λέγει μοι· γενοῦ ἀκροατῆς καὶ ἄκουε τὰς δόξας τοῦ θεοῦ. ἤκουσα μέγας καὶ θαυμαστῶς ὁ¹⁵ οὐκ ἴσχυσα μνημονεύσαι· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα ἔκφρικτα, ἃ οὐ δύναται ἄνθρωπος βαστάσαι. τὰ οὖν ἔσχατα ῥήματα ἐμνημόνευσα· ἦν γὰρ ἡμῖν σύμφορα καὶ ἡμερα· 4. ἰδοὺ ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων, ὁ ἀοράτῳ¹⁶ δυνάμει καὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ συνέσει αὐτοῦ κτίσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ τῇ ἐνδόξῳ βουλῇ περιθεὶς τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τῇ κτίσει αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἰσχυρῷ ῥήματι πῆξας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ θεμελιώσας τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ ὑδάτων καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ σοφίᾳ καὶ προνοίᾳ¹⁷ κτίσας τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῦ, ἦν καὶ ὑψόγησεν, ἰδοὺ μεθίστάνει τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ τοὺς βουνοὺς καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα ὁμαλὰ γίνεται τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἀποδοῖ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, ἣν ἐπηγγείλατο, μετὰ πολλῆς δόξης καὶ χαρᾶς, ἐὰν τηρήσωσιν τὰ νόμιμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἃ παρέλαβον ἐν μεγάλῃ πίστει.

4 (1.4)

Ὅτε οὖν ἐτέλεσεν ἀναγινώσκουσα καὶ ἡγέρθη ἀπὸ τῆς καθέδρας, ἦλθαν τέσσαρες νεανίαι καὶ ἦραν τὴν καθέδραν καὶ ἀπῆλθον πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν. 2. προσκαλεῖται δέ με καὶ ἤψατο τοῦ στήθους μου καὶ λέγει μοι· ἤρεσέν σοι ἡ ἀνάγνωσίς μου; καὶ λέγω αὐτῇ·

these words, she said to me, "Do you want to hear me read?" I replied to her, "Yes, Lady, I do." She said to me, "Be a hearer and hear the glories of God." I heard great and amazing matters that I could not remember. For all the words were terrifying, more than a person can bear. But I have remembered the final words, for they were beneficial to us, and gentle: 4. "Behold, the powerful God, who with his invisible power, might, and great understanding created the world, and by his glorious plan encompassed his creation with beauty, and by his powerful word fixed the sky and founded the earth upon the waters, and by his unique wisdom and foreknowledge created his holy church, which he also blessed—behold, he transforms the skies and the mountains and the hills and the seas, and everything becomes level for his elect, that he may deliver over to them the promise he made, with great glory and joy, if they keep the ordinances of God, which they received in great faith."

4 (I.4)

Then, when she finished reading and rose up from the chair, four young men came and took the chair and went away to the east. 2. She called me over and touched my breast and said to me, "Did my reading please you?" I said

¹⁵ *μεγάλως καὶ θαυμαστῶς ὁ* S B L¹: *μεγάλας καὶ θαυμαστὰς ὦν* A (L² E)

¹⁶ *ὁ ἀοράτῳ* L¹ (*invisibili*), cf. L² (*sustentabili*): *ὁν ἀγαπῶ* S B A: *in misericordia sua et in amore suo* E

¹⁷ *τῇ ἰδίᾳ σοφίᾳ καὶ προνοίᾳ* S A E: *τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ τῇ κραταίᾳ* B L L

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

κυρία, ταῦτά μοι τὰ ἔσχατα ἀρέσκει, τὰ δὲ πρότερα χαλεπὰ καὶ σκληρά. ἡ δὲ ἔφη μοι λέγουσα· ταῦτα τὰ ἔσχατα τοῖς δικαίοις, τὰ δὲ πρῶτα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀποστάταις. 3. λαλούσης αὐτῆς μετ' ἐμοῦ δύο τινὲς ἄνδρες ἐφάνησαν καὶ ἦσαν αὐτὴν τῶν ἀγκώνων καὶ ἀπῆλθαν, ὅπου καὶ ἡ καθέδρα, πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν. ἰλαρὰ δὲ ἀπῆλθεν καὶ ὑπάγουσα λέγει μοι· ἀνδρίζον, Ἑρμᾶ.

Ὅρασις β'

5 (II.1)

Πορευομένου μου εἰς κώμας¹⁸ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὃν καὶ πέρυσιν, περιπατῶν ἀνεμνήσθην τῆς περυσινῆς ὁράσεως, καὶ πάλιν με αἶρει πνεῦμα καὶ ἀποφέρει εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ὅπου καὶ πέρυσιν. 2. ἐλθὼν οὖν εἰς τὸν τόπον τιθῶ τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἡρξάμην προσεύχεσθαι τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ δοξάζειν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα, ὅτι με ἄξιον ἡγήσατο καὶ ἐγνώρισέν μοι τὰς ἀμαρτίας μου τὰς πρότερον. 3. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐγερθῆναί με ἀπὸ τῆς προσευχῆς βλέπω ἀπέναντί μου τὴν πρεσβυτέραν ἥν καὶ πέρυσιν¹⁹ ἑώρακειν, περιπατοῦσαν καὶ ἀναγινώσκουσαν βιβλαρίδιον. καὶ λέγει μοι· δύνῃ ταῦτα τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναγγεῖλαι; λέγω αὐτῇ· κυρία, τοσαῦτα μνημονεῦσαι οὐ δύναμαι· δὸς δέ μοι τὸ βιβλίδιον ἵνα μεταγράψωμαι αὐτό. λάβε, φησίν, καὶ ἀποδώσεις μοι.²⁰ 4. ἔλαβον ἐγώ, καὶ εἰς τινα τόπον τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἀναχωρήσας μετεγραψάμην πάντα πρὸς

VISIONS 5 (II.1)

to her, "Lady, these last words are pleasing to me, but the earlier ones were difficult and hard." She said to me, "These last words are for those who are upright, but the former are for the outsiders and apostates." 3. While she was speaking with me, two other men appeared and took her by the arms and went away to the east, where the chair was. She went away cheerfully; and while she was going she said to me, "Be a man [*Or: Be courageous*], Hermas."

Vision Two

5 (II.1)

I was traveling to the countryside at the same time as the previous year, and on the way I remembered the vision from the year before. And again a spirit took me and bore me to the same place I had been then. 2. And so, when I came to the place I bowed my knees and began praying to the Lord and glorifying his name, because he considered me worthy and showed me my former sins. 3. When I arose from prayer I saw across from me the elderly woman I had seen the year before, walking and reading a little book. And she said to me, "Can you announce these things to the ones chosen by God?" I said to her, "Lady, I cannot remember so many things. Give me the book to make a copy." "Take it," she said, "and then return it to me." 4. I took it and went away to another part of the field, where I copied the whole thing, letter by letter, for I could not dis-

¹⁸ κώμας S B A E: Κούμας L L (*regionem Cumanorum*)

¹⁹ πέρυσιν B A L¹: om. L² E: πρότερον S

²⁰ λάβε . . . μοι S^c A L¹: om. S B L² E

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

γράμμα· οὐχ ἡŷρισκον γὰρ τὰς συλλαβάς. τελέσαν-
τος οὖν τὰ γράμματα τοῦ βιβλιδίου ἐξαίφνης ἤρπάγη
μου ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τὸ βιβλίδιον· ὑπὸ τίνος δὲ οὐκ
εἶδον.

6 (II.2)

Μετὰ δὲ δέκα καὶ πέντε ἡμέρας νηστεύσαντός μου καὶ
πολλὰ ἐρωτήσαντος τὸν κύριον ἀπεκαλύφθη μοι ἡ
γνώσις τῆς γραφῆς. ἦν δὲ γεγραμμένα ταῦτα· 2. τὸ
σπέρμα σου, Ἑρμᾶ, ἠθέτησαν εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ
ἐβλασφήμησαν εἰς τὸν κύριον καὶ προέδωκαν τοὺς
γονεῖς αὐτῶν ἐν πονηρίᾳ μεγάλη καὶ ἤκουσαν προ-
δόται γονέων καὶ προδόντες οὐκ ὠφελήθησαν, ἀλλὰ
ἔτι προσέθηκαν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτῶν τὰς ἀσελγείας
καὶ συμφυρμούς πονηρίας, καὶ οὕτως ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ
ἀνομίαι αὐτῶν.²¹ 3. ἀλλὰ γνώρισον ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα
τοῖς τέκνοις σου πᾶσιν καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ σου τῇ μελ-
λούσῃ σου ἀδελφῇ· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη οὐκ ἀπέχεται τῆς
γλώσσης, ἐν ᾗ πονηρεύεται· ἀλλὰ ἀκούσασα τὰ
ῥήματα ταῦτα ἀφέξεται καὶ ἔξει ἔλεος. 4. μετὰ τὸ
γνωρίσαι σε ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῖς ἃ ἐνετείλατό μοι
ὁ δεσπότης ἵνα σοι ἀποκαλυφθῇ, τότε ἀφίενται αὐτοῖς
αἱ ἁμαρτίαι πᾶσαι ἃς πρότερον ἤμαρτον, καὶ πᾶσιν
τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς ἁμαρτήσασιν μέχρι ταύτης τῆς
ἡμέρας, ἐὰν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας μετανοήσουσιν καὶ
ἄρῳσιν ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν τὰς διψυχίας. 5. ὥμο-
σεν γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης κατὰ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς

VISIONS 6 (II.2)

tinguish between the syllables. And then, when I completed the letters of the book, it was suddenly seized from my hand; but I did not see by whom.

6 (II.2)

Fifteen days later, after I had fasted and asked the Lord many things, the meaning of the writing was revealed to me. These are the words that were written: 2. "Your offspring, Hermas, have rejected God, blasphemed the Lord, and betrayed their parents with a great evil. And even though they have been called betrayers of their parents, they have gained nothing from their betrayal. Yet they have added still more licentious acts to their sins and piled on more evil; and so their lawless acts have gone as far as they can go. 3. But make these words known to all your children and your wife, who is about to become your sister. For she also does not restrain her tongue, but uses it to perpetrate evil. But when she hears these words she will control it and receive mercy. 4. After you have made known to them these words that the Master has commanded me to reveal to you, then all the sins they formerly committed will be forgiven them, along with those of all the saints who have sinned till this day, if they repent from their whole heart and remove doublemindedness from it. 5. For the Master swore by his own glory to his chosen

²¹ τὰς ἀσελγείας . . . αὐτῶν S B L L: καὶ ταῖς ἀσελγείαις καὶ συμφυρμοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ πονηρίαις A: om. E

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν ὠρισμένης τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἔτι ἀμάρτησις γένηται, μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς σωτηρίαν· ἡ γὰρ μετάνοια τοῖς δικαίοις ἔχει τέλος· πεπλήρωνται αἱ ἡμέραι μετανοίας πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀγίοις· καὶ τοῖς δὲ ἔθνεσιν μετάνοιά ἐστιν ἕως ἐσχάτης ἡμέρας. 6. ἐρεῖς οὖν τοῖς προηγουμένοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἵνα κατορθώσωνται τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἵνα ἀπολάβωσιν ἐκ πλήρους τὰς ἐπαγγελίας μετὰ πολλῆς δόξης. 7. ἐμμείνατε οὖν οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ μὴ διψυχήσητε, ἵνα γένηται ὑμῶν ἡ πάροδος μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἀγίων. μακάριοι ὑμεῖς ὅσοι ὑπομένετε τὴν θλίψιν τὴν ἐρχομένην τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ὅσοι οὐκ ἀρνήσονται τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν. 8. ὥμοσεν γὰρ²² κύριος κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς ἀρνησαμένους τὸν κύριον²³ αὐτῶν ἀπεγνωρίσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν, τοὺς νῦν μέλλοντας ἀρνεῖσθαι ταῖς ἐρχομέναις ἡμέραις· τοῖς δὲ πρότερον ἀρνησαμένοις, διὰ τὴν πολυσπλαγχνίαν ἵλεως ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς.

7 (II.3)

Σὺ δέ, Ἑρμᾶ, μηκέτι μνησικακήσης τοῖς τέκνοις σου, μηδὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν σου ἐάσης, ἵνα καθαρισθῶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. παιδευθήσονται γὰρ παιδείᾳ δικαίᾳ, ἐὰν σὺ μὴ μνησικακήσης αὐτοῖς. μνησικακία θάνατον κατεργάζεται.²⁴ σὺ δέ, Ἑρμᾶ, μεγάλας θλίψεις ἔσχες ἰδιωτικὰς²⁵ διὰ τὰς παρα-

VISIONS 7 (II.3)

ones: 'If there is any more sinning once this day has been appointed, they will not find salvation. For there is a limit to repentance for those who are upright, and the days of repentance for all the saints are complete. But the outsiders will be able to repent until the final day.' 6. And so, say to those who lead the church that they are to make their paths straight in righteousness, that they may fully receive the promises with great glory. 7. You who do what is righteous should stand firm and not be of two minds, that your path may lie with the holy angels. How fortunate are all you who endure the great affliction that is coming and do not deny your life. 8. For the Lord has sworn by his Son, that those who deny their Lord have lost their life—that is, those who are about to deny him in the days that are coming. But through his great compassion, mercy has been given to those who denied the Lord previously.

7 (II.3)

"But you, Hermas, must no longer hold a grudge against your children nor leave your sister to her own devices [*Or: nor avoid your sister*], that they may be cleansed from their former sins. For they will be disciplined with an upright discipline, if you bear no grudge against them. A grudge produces death. But you, Hermas, have experienced great afflictions of your own because of your family's

²² γὰρ S B: add ὁ A

²³ κύριον Sc A L² E: χριστόν S: υἱόν L¹: [lacuna B]

²⁴ κατεργάζεται S A E: add τὸ δὲ μνησικακὸν (= δ' ἀμνησικακὸν?) ζῶην αἰώνιον κατεργάζεται B L¹ (L²)

²⁵ ἰδιωτικὰς S B A L²: βιωτικὰς Sc L¹: om. E

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

βάσεις τοῦ οἴκου σου, ὅτι οὐκ ἐμέλησέν σοι περὶ αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ παρενεθυμήθης καὶ ταῖς πραγματείαις²⁶ σου συνανεφύρης ταῖς πονηραῖς· 2. ἀλλὰ σώζει σε τὸ μὴ ἀποστῆναί σε ἀπὸ θεοῦ ζώντος, καὶ ἡ ἀπλότης σου καὶ ἡ πολλὴ ἐγκράτεια· ταῦτα σέσωκέν σε, ἐὰν ἐμμένῃς, καὶ πάντας σώζει²⁷ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργαζομένους καὶ πορευομένους ἐν ἀκακίᾳ καὶ ἀπλότητι. οὗτοι κατισχύσουσιν πάσης πονηρίας καὶ παραμενοῦσιν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. 3. μακάριοι πάντες οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν δικαιοσύνην. οὐ διαφθαρήσονται ἕως αἰῶνος. 4. ἐρεῖς δὲ Μαξίμω· ἰδὸν θλίψις ἔρχεται· ἐάν σοι φανῇ, πάλιν ἄρνησαι. ἐγγὺς κύριος τοῖς ἐπιστρεφόμενοις, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἑλδὰδ καὶ Μωδάτ, τοῖς προφητεύσασιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῷ λαῷ.

8 (II.4)

Ἀπεκαλύφθη δέ μοι, ἀδελφοί, κοιμωμένῳ ὑπὸ νεανίσκου εὐειδεστάτου λέγοντός μοι· τὴν πρεσβυτέραν, παρ' ἧς ἔλαβες τὸ βιβλίδιον, τίνα δοκεῖς εἶναι; ἐγὼ φημι· τὴν Σίβυλλαν. πλανᾶσαι, φησὶν, οὐκ ἔστιν. τίς οὖν ἐστιν; φημί. ἡ ἐκκλησία, φησὶν. εἶπον αὐτῷ· διατί οὖν πρεσβυτέρα; ὅτι, φησὶν, πάντων πρώτη ἐκτίσθη· διὰ τοῦτο πρεσβυτέρα, καὶ διὰ ταυτην ὁ κόσμος κατηρτίσθη. 2. μετέπειτα δὲ ὄρασιν εἶδον ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ

²⁶ πραγματεῖαις S B A L L E: ἀμαρτίαις Sc

²⁷ σώζει S A: σώσει B L L E

VISIONS 8 (II.4)

transgressions, since you paid no attention to them. You neglected them and became enmeshed in your own evil deeds [*Or: business dealings*]. 2. But you are saved by not straying from the living God, and by your simplicity and great self-restraint. These things have saved you, if you continue; and they save all those who do them and who proceed in innocence and simplicity. Such people will overcome all evil and persist to eternal life. 3. How fortunate are all those who do righteousness. They will never perish. 4. Say to Maximus, 'See, affliction is coming. If it seems right to you, make another denial.'¹ The Lord is near to those who convert, as is written in the Book of Eldad and Modat,² who prophesied to the people in the wilderness."

8 (II.4)

While I was sleeping, brothers, I received a revelation from a very beautiful young man, who said to me: "The elderly woman from whom you received the little book—who do you think she is?" "The Sibyl," I replied. "You are wrong," he said; "it is not she." "Who then is it?" I asked. "The church," he said. I said to him, "Why then is she elderly?" "Because," he said, "she was created first, before anything else. That is why she is elderly, and for her sake the world was created." 2. And afterward I saw a vision in

¹ The quotation may continue to the end of the verse.

² This was an apocryphal book written in the names of the two prophets mentioned in Num. 11:26. It no longer survives.

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

μου. ἦλθεν ἡ πρεσβυτέρα καὶ ἠρώτησέν με εἰ ἤδη τὸ βιβλίον δέδωκα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. ἠρνησάμην δεδωκέναι. καλῶς, φησὶν, πεποίηκας· ἔχω γὰρ ῥήματα προσθεῖναι. ὅταν οὖν ἀποτελέσω τὰ ῥήματα πάντα, διὰ σοῦ γνωρισθήσεται τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς πᾶσιν. 3. γράψεις οὖν δύο βιβλαρίδια καὶ πέμψεις ἐν Κλήμεντι καὶ ἐν Γραπτῇ. πέμψει οὖν Κλήμης εἰς τὰς ἑξὺ πόλεις, ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται.²⁸ Γραπτὴ δὲ νουθετήσῃ τὰς χήρας καὶ τοὺς ὀρφανούς. σὺ δὲ ἀναγνώσῃ εἰς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν προϋσταμένων τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Ὅρασις γ'

9 (III.1)

Ἦν²⁹ εἶδον, ἀδελφοί, τοιαύτη.³⁰ 2. νηστεύσας πολλάκις καὶ δεηθεὶς τοῦ κυρίου ἵνα μοι φανερώσῃ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἣν μοι ἐπηγγείλατο δεῖξαι διὰ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας,³¹ αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτί μοι ὥπται ἡ πρεσβυτέρα καὶ εἶπέν μοι· ἐπεὶ οὕτως ἐνδεὴς εἶ καὶ σπουδαῖος εἰς τὸ γνῶναι πάντα, ἐλθὲ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν ὅπου χονδρίζεις,³² καὶ περὶ ὥραν πέμπτην ἐμφανισθήσομαί σοι καὶ δείξω σοι³³ ἃ δεῖ σε ἰδεῖν. 3. ἠρώτησα αὐτὴν λέγων· κυρία, εἰς ποῖον τόπον τοῦ ἀγροῦ; ὅπου, φησὶν, θέλεις. ἐξελεξάμην τόπον καλὸν ἀνακεχωρηκότα.

²⁸ ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται (ἐπιγέγραπται B A) S B A L¹: om. L² E

my house. The elderly woman came and asked if I had already given the book to the presbyters. I said that I had not. "You have done well," she said. "For I have some words to add. Then, when I complete all the words, they will be made known through you to all those who are chosen. 3. And so, you will write two little books, sending one to Clement and the other to Grapte. Clement will send his to the foreign cities, for that is his commission. But Grapte will admonish the widows and orphans. And you will read yours in this city, with the presbyters who lead the church."

Vision Three

9 (III.1)

What I saw, brothers, was this. 2. After I fasted a great deal and asked the Lord to show me the revelation that he promised to reveal through the elderly woman, that same night the elderly woman appeared and said to me, "Since you are so needy and eager to know everything, come to the field where you farm, and around eleven in the morning I will be revealed to you and show you what you must see." 3. I asked her, "Lady, in what part of the field?" "Wherever you wish," she said. I chose a beautiful spot that was secluded. But before I could speak with her to tell

²⁹ ἦν S B L L E: ὄρασω A

³⁰ τοιαύτη L L E: τοιαύτην S B A

³¹ πρεσβυτέρας S (with blank space following, sufficient for the variant) B: add ἐκείνης L L E: [lacuna A]

³² χονδρίεις S: χρονίεις S^c B A L²: vis L¹ (et sede ibi E)

³³ σοι S B L L E: om. A

πρὶν δὲ λαλήσαι αὐτῇ καὶ εἰπεῖν τὸν τόπον, λέγει μοι ἥξω ἐκεῖ ὅπου θέλεις. 4. ἐγενόμην οὖν, ἀδελφοί, εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν, καὶ συνεψήφισα³⁴ τὰς ὥρας, καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου διαταξάμην αὐτῇ ἐλθεῖν,³⁵ καὶ βλέπω συμφέλιον κείμενον ἐλεφάντινον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ συμφελίου ἔκειτο κερβικάριον λινοῦν, καὶ ἐπάνω λέντιον ἐξηπλωμένον λινοῦν καρπάσινον. 5. ἰδὼν ταῦτα κείμενα καὶ μηδένα ὄντα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἔκθαμβος ἐγενόμην, καὶ ὥσεί τρόμος με ἔλαβεν, καὶ αἱ τρίχες μου ὀρθαί· καὶ ὥσεί φρίκη μοι προσῆλθεν, μόνου μου ὄντος· ἐν ἑμαυτῷ οὖν γενόμενος καὶ μνησθεὶς τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λαβὼν θάρσος, θεὸς τὰ γόνατα ἐξωμολογούμην τῷ κυρίῳ πάλιν τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου ὡς καὶ πρότερον. 6. ἡ δὲ ἦλθεν μετὰ νεανίσκων ἕξ, οὓς καὶ πρότερον ἐωράκειν, καὶ ἐπεστάθη μοι καὶ κατηκροᾶτο προσευχομένου καὶ ἐξομολογουμένου τῷ κυρίῳ τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου.³⁶ καὶ ἀψαμένη μου λέγει· Ἑρμᾶ, παῦσαι περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν σου πάντα ἐρωτῶν· ἐρώτα καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης ἵνα λάβῃς μέρος τι³⁷ ἐξ αὐτῆς³⁸ εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου. 7. καὶ ἐξεγείρει με τῆς χειρὸς καὶ ἄγει με πρὸς τὸ συμφέλιον, καὶ λέγει τοῖς νεανίσκοις· ὑπάγετε καὶ οἰκοδομεῖτε. 8. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀναχωρῆσαι τοὺς νεανίσκους καὶ μόνων ἡμῶν γεγονότων λέγει μοι· κάθισον ὧδε. λέγω αὐτῇ· κυρία, ἄφες τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους πρῶτον καθίσαι. ὃ σοι λέγω, φησὶν, κάθισον. 9. θέλοντος οὖν μου καθίσαι εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη οὐκ εἴασέν με, ἀλλ' ἐννεύει μοι τῇ χειρὶ ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἀριστερὰ μέρη καθίσω. διαλογιζομένου μου οὖν καὶ λυπου-

her the place, she said to me, "I will come there, wherever you wish." 4. And so, brothers, I went into the field and counted the hours. I arrived at the place that I had directed her to come, and I saw an ivory couch set up. On the couch was placed a linen pillow, with a piece of fine linen cloth on top. 5. When I saw these things laid out with no one there, I was astounded and seized with trembling, and my hair stood on end—terrified, because I was alone. Then when I came to myself, I remembered the glory of God and took courage. I bowed my knees and confessed my sins again to the Lord, as I had done before. 6. And she came with six young men, whom I had seen before, and she stood beside me and listened closely while I prayed and confessed my sins to the Lord. She touched me and said, "Hermas, stop asking exclusively about your sins; ask also about righteousness, that you may receive some of it in your house." 7. She raised me by the hand and led me to the couch; and she said to the young men, "Go and build." 8. After the young men left and we were alone, she said to me, "Sit here." I said to her, "Lady, let the elders sit first." "Do what I tell you," she said. "Sit." 9. But then, when I wanted to sit on the right side, she did not let me, but signaled with her hand for me to sit on the left. As I was mulling this over and

³⁴ συνεψήφισα S: συνώψισα A: *extimavi* L¹: [lacuna B]

³⁵ διαταξάμην αὐτῇ ἐλθεῖν S B L L: αὐτῇ ἐλθεῖν ἔμελλε A: om. E ³⁶ ὥς καὶ πρότερον (v. 5) . . . ἁμαρτίας μου A L¹ E: om. S B L²

³⁷ τι S E: om. S^c B A L L

³⁸ ἐξ αὐτῆς S B L L: μετὰ σεαυτοῦ S^c: add μετὰ σεαυτοῦ A: om. E

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

μένου ὅτι οὐκ εἶασέν με εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη καθίσαι, λέγει μοι· λυπῇ, Ἑρμᾶ; ὁ εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τόπος ἄλλων ἐστίν, τῶν ἤδη εὐαρεστηκότων τῷ θεῷ καὶ παθόντων εἵνεκα τοῦ ὀνόματος.³⁹ σοὶ δὲ πολλὰ λείπει ἵνα μετ' αὐτῶν καθίσῃς· ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐμμένεις τῇ ἀπλότητί σου, μείνον, καὶ καθιῇ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὅσοι ἐὰν ἐργάζωνται τὰ ἐκείνων ἔργα καὶ ὑπενέγκωσιν ἃ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ὑπήνεγκαν.

10 (III.2)

Τί, φημί, ὑπήνεγκαν; ἄκουε, φησίν· μάστιγας, φυλάκας, θλίψεις μεγάλας, σταυρούς, θηρία εἵνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος.⁴⁰ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκείνων ἐστὶν τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ ἁγιάσματος, καὶ ὅς ἐὰν πάθῃ διὰ τὸ ὄνομα.⁴¹ τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τὰ ἀριστερὰ μέρη ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ τῶν ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ τῶν ἀριστερῶν καθημένων, τὰ αὐτὰ δῶρα καὶ αἱ αὐταὶ ἐπαγγελίαι· μόνον ἐκεῖνοι ἐκ δεξιῶν κάθηνται καὶ ἔχουσιν δόξαν τινά. 2. σὺ δὲ κατεπιθυμεῖς καθίσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν μετ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑστερήματά σου πολλά· καθαρισθήσῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑστερημάτων σου· καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ μὴ διψυχοῦντες καθαρισθήσονται ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν. 3. ταῦτα εἶπασα ἤθελεν ἀπελθεῖν· πεσὼν δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τοὺς πόδας ἠρώτησα αὐτὴν κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἵνα μοι ἐπιδείξῃ ὃ ἐπηγγείλατο ὄραμα. 4. ἡ δὲ πάλιν ἐπελάβετό μου τῆς χειρὸς καὶ ἐγείρει με καὶ καθίζει ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέλιον ἐξ εὐωνύμων·

becoming upset that she did not allow me to sit on the right, she said to me, "Are you upset, Hermas? The place on the right is for others, who have already pleased God and suffered on behalf of the name. Many things must happen to you before you can sit with them. But continue in your simplicity, as you are doing, and you will sit with them, as will everyone who does what they have done and endures what they have endured."

10 (III.2)

"What have they endured?" I asked. "Listen," she said: "floggings, imprisonments, great afflictions, crucifixions, and wild beasts—for the sake of the name. For this reason, the right side of holiness belongs to them, and to anyone who suffers on account of the name. And the left side is for the others. The same gifts and promises belong to both—those seated on the right and those on the left. But they alone sit on the right and have a certain glory. 2. You want to sit on the right side with them, but you have many shortcomings. But you will be cleansed of your shortcomings. And all those who are not of two minds will be cleansed from all the sins they have committed up to this day." 3. After she said these things she wanted to leave. But I fell before her feet and pled with her by the Lord to show me the vision she had promised. 4. Again she took my hand, raised me up, and seated me on the couch on the left

³⁹ τοῦ ὀνόματος B L¹: μου του ονοματος S (~ S^c): add αὐτοῦ A L² E

⁴⁰ ὀνόματος S B L¹: add τοῦ θεοῦ A L²: add αὐτοῦ E

⁴¹ διὰ τὸ ὄνομα S B L¹: add τοῦ θεοῦ A: add αὐτοῦ E: *ita* L²

ἐκαθέζετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ἐκ δεξιῶν. καὶ ἐπάρασα ῥάβδον
 τινὰ λαμπρὰν λέγει μοι· βλέπεις μέγα πρῶγμα; λέγω
 αὐτῇ· κυρία, οὐδὲν βλέπω. λέγει μοι· σύ,⁴² ἰδοὺ οὐχ
 ὁρᾷς κατέναντί σου πύργον μέγαν οἰκοδομούμενον ἐπὶ
 ὑδάτων λίθοις τετραγώνοις λαμπροῖς; 5. ἐν τετραγώ-
 νῳ δὲ ὠκοδομεῖτο ὁ πύργος ὑπὸ τῶν ἕξ νεανίσκων τῶν
 ἐληλυθόντων μετ' αὐτῆς· ἄλλαι δὲ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν
 παρέφερον λίθους, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς
 γῆς, καὶ ἐπέδιδουν τοῖς ἕξ νεανίσκοις. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐλάμ-
 βανον καὶ ὠκοδομοῦν· 6. τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ λίθους
 ἐλκομένους πάντας οὕτως ἐτίθεσαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν·
 ἡρμοσμένοι γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ συνεφώνουν τῇ ἀρμογῇ
 μετὰ τῶν ἐτέρων λίθων· καὶ οὕτως ἐκολλῶντο ἀλλή-
 λους, ὥστε τὴν ἀρμογὴν αὐτῶν μὴ φαίνεσθαι· ἐφαί-
 νετο δὲ ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου ὡς ἕξ ἐνὸς λίθου
 ὠκοδομημένη. 7. τοὺς δὲ ἐτέρους λίθους τοὺς φερομέ-
 νους ἀπὸ τῆς ξηρᾶς τοὺς μὲν ἀπέβαλλον, τοὺς δὲ
 ἐτίθουν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν· ἄλλους δὲ κατέκοπτον καὶ
 ἔρριπτον⁴³ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου. 8. ἄλλοι δὲ λίθοι
 πολλοὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου ἔκειντο καὶ οὐκ ἐχρῶντο
 αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν· ἦσαν γάρ τινες ἕξ αὐτῶν
 ἐψωριακότες, ἕτεροι δὲ σχισμὰς ἔχοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ
 κεκολωβωμένοι, ἄλλοι δὲ λευκοὶ καὶ στρογγύλοι, μὴ
 ἀρμόζοντες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν. 9. ἔβλεπον δὲ ἐτέρους
 λίθους ῥίπτομένους μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου καὶ ἐρχο-
 μένους εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ μὴ μένοντας ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἀλλὰ
 κυλιομένους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ⁴⁴ εἰς τὴν ἀνοδίαν· ἐτέρους
 δὲ ἐπὶ πῦρ ἐμπίπτοντας καὶ καιομένους· ἐτέρους δὲ

side. She herself sat on the right. And raising up a bright rod she said to me, "Do you see a great thing?" I said to her, "Lady, I see nothing." She said to me, "Look, do you not see a great tower being built upon the water across from you, with bright, squared stones?" 5. The tower was being built in a square by the six young men who had come with her. And thousands of other men were bringing stones, some of them from the depths of the sea and some from the land, and they were handing them over to the six young men, who were taking them and building. 6. Thus they placed all the stones drawn from the depths in the building; for they fit together and were straight at their joints with the other stones. And they were placed together so that their joints were invisible. The tower building seemed to have been made out of a single stone. 7. But they tossed aside some of the other stones that were brought from the dry land, while others they placed in the building. Others they broke up and cast far from the tower. 8. Many other stones were lying around the tower, and they did not use them in the building. For some of them had a rough surface, others had cracks, others were broken off, and others were white and round, and did not fit in the building. 9. I saw other stones cast far from the tower; these came onto the path, but did not remain there, but rolled from the path onto the rough terrain. Others fell into the fire and

⁴² λέγει μοι· σύ S L L E: om. B A

⁴³ ἔρριπτον A L L E: ἐτίθουν S B

⁴⁴ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ A L L: om. S B E

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

πίπτοντας ἐγγὺς ὑδάτων καὶ μὴ δυναμένους κυλισθῆ-
ναι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, καίπερ θελόντων κυλισθῆναι καὶ
ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ.

11 (III.3)

Δείξασά μοι ταῦτα ἤθελεν ἀποτρέχειν. λέγω αὐτῇ·
Κυρία, τί μοι ὄφελος ταῦτα ἐωρακότι καὶ μὴ γινώ-
σκοντι τί ἐστὶν τὰ πράγματα; ἀποκριθεῖσά μοι λέγει·
πανοῦργος εἶ, ἄνθρωπε,⁴⁵ θέλων γινώσκειν τὰ περὶ
τὸν πύργον. ναί, φημί, κυρία, ἵνα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀναγ-
γείλω, καὶ ἱλαρώτεροι γένωνται, καὶ ταῦτα⁴⁶ ἀκούσαν-
τες γινώσκωσιν τὸν κύριον⁴⁷ ἐν πολλῇ δόξῃ. 2. ἡ δὲ
ἔφη· ἀκούσονται μὲν πολλοί· ἀκούσαντες δὲ τινες ἐξ
αὐτῶν χαρήσονται, τινὲς δὲ κλαύσονται· ἀλλὰ καὶ
οὗτοι, ἐὰν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ μετανοήσωσιν, καὶ αὐτοὶ
χαρήσονται. ἄκουε οὖν τὰς παραβολὰς τοῦ πύργου·
ἀποκαλύψω γάρ σοι πάντα. καὶ μηκέτι μοι κόπους
πάρεχε περὶ ἀποκαλύψεως· αἱ γὰρ ἀποκαλύψεις αὐταὶ
τέλος ἔχουσιν· πεπληρωμέναι γὰρ εἰσιν. ἀλλ' οὐ παύ-
ση αἰτούμενος ἀποκαλύψεις· ἀναιδὴς γὰρ εἶ. 3. ὁ μὲν
πύργος, ὃν βλέπεις οἰκοδομούμενον, ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἐκ-
κλησία, ἡ ὀφθεισά σοι καὶ νῦν καὶ τὸ πρότερον· ὃ ἂν
οὖν θελήσης ἐπερώτα περὶ τοῦ πύργου, καὶ ἀπο-
καλύψω σοι, ἵνα χαρῆς μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων. 4. λέγω αὐτῇ·
κυρία, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ ἄξιόν με ἡγήσω τοῦ πάντα μοι
ἀποκαλύψαι, ἀποκάλυψον. ἡ δὲ λέγει μοι· ὃ ἐὰν ἐνδέ-
χῃται σοι ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, ἀποκαλυφθήσεται. μόνον

were burned. And others fell near the water, but could not be rolled into it, even though they wanted to be.

11 (III.3)

When she had shown me these things she wanted to hurry away. I said to her, "Lady, what good is it for me to see these things if I do not know what they mean?" She answered and said to me, "You, fellow, are a crafty one, wanting to know about the tower." "Yes, Lady," I said; "I want to announce it to the brothers that they can become more cheerful; for when they hear these things they will know the Lord in great glory." 2. She said, "Many will indeed hear; and some of those who hear will rejoice, but some will weep. But even these latter, if they hear and repent, will rejoice as well. Hear therefore the parables of the tower. For I will reveal everything to you. Then trouble me no further about the revelation. For these revelations are completed and fulfilled. But you will not stop asking about [*Or: for*] revelations, because you are shameless. 3. The tower, which you see being built, is I, the church, who has appeared to you both now and previously. And so, ask whatever you wish about the tower and I will reveal it to you, that you may rejoice with the saints." 4. I said to her, "Lady, since you have on this one occasion considered me worthy to reveal all things to me: reveal them." She said to me, "Whatever can be revealed to you, will be revealed.

⁴⁵ ἄνθρωπε S A L¹: ἄνθρωπος S^c B L² E

⁴⁶ ἰλαρώτεροι . . . ταῦτα A L L: om. S B E

⁴⁷ κύριον S L L E: θεὸν A: [lacuna B]

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ἡ καρδιά σου πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἦτω καὶ μὴ διψυχῆσεις ὃ ἂν ἴδῃς. 5. ἐπηρώτησα αὐτήν· διατί ὁ πύργος ἐπὶ ὑδάτων ὠκοδοῖται, κυρία; εἰπά σοι, φησίν, καὶ τὸ πρότερον,⁴⁸ καὶ ἐκζητεῖς ἐπιμελῶς· ἐκζητῶν οὖν εὐρίσκεις τὴν ἀλήθειαν. διατί οὖν ἐπὶ ὑδάτων ὠκοδοῖται ὁ πύργος, ἄκουε· ὅτι ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν διὰ ὕδατος ἐσώθη καὶ σωθήσεται. τεθεμελίωται δὲ ὁ πύργος τῷ ῥήματι τοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος, κρατεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀοράτου δυνάμεως τοῦ δεσπότου.

12 (III.4)

Ἀποκριθεὶς λέγω αὐτῇ· κυρία, μέγας καὶ θαυμαστῶς ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο. οἱ δὲ νεανίσκοι οἱ ἔξ οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες τίνες εἰσίν, κυρία; οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ οἱ πρῶτοι κτισθέντες, οἷς παρέδωκεν ὁ κύριος πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ, αὔξειν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ δεσπόζειν τῆς κτίσεως πάσης. διὰ τούτων οὖν τελεσθήσεται ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου. 2. οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι οἱ παραφέροντες τοὺς λίθους τίνες εἰσίν; καὶ αὐτοὶ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ· οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἔξ⁴⁹ ὑπερέχοντες αὐτούς εἰσιν. συντελεσθήσεται οὖν ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου, καὶ πάντες ὁμοῦ εὐφρανθήσονται κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου καὶ δοξάσουσιν τὸν θεόν, ὅτι ἐτελέσθη ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου. 3. ἐπηρώτησα αὐτήν λέγων· κυρία, ἤθελον γινῶναι τῶν λίθων τὴν ἔξοδον⁵⁰ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, ποταπή ἐστίν. ἀποκριθεῖσά μοι λέγει· οὐχ ὅτι σὺ ἐκ πάντων ἀξιώτερος εἶ ἵνα σοι ἀπο-

Only let your heart be set on God, and do not be of two minds, whatever you see.” 5. I asked her, “Why, Lady, is the tower built upon water?” “I have told you already,” she said, “and you keep seeking; it is by seeking, therefore, that you find the truth. As to why the tower is built upon water, listen: it is because your life was saved and will be saved through water. But the tower is founded on the word of the almighty and glorious name, and it is strengthened by the invisible power of the Master.”

12 (III.4)

And I responded to her, “Lady, this is a great and amazing thing. But the six young men who are building, Lady—who are they?” “These are the holy angels of God who were created first, to whom the Lord handed over his entire creation, so that they could increase, build up, and rule over it all. Thus, through these the building of the tower will be brought to completion.” 2. “But the others—the ones bringing the stones—who are they?” “They also are holy angels of God; but these six are superior to them. And so the building of the tower will be completed, and then all of them will rejoice together around the tower and glorify God, because the building of the tower has been completed.” 3. I asked her, “Lady, I want to know about the destination of the stones, and about what they mean.” And she answered me, “This will be revealed to you, but not be-

⁴⁸ *πρότερον* S B L² E: add *πανούργος εἶ περὶ τὰς γραφὰς* A L¹

⁴⁹ *ἐξ* S A L²: om. S^c L¹ E: [lacuna B]

⁵⁰ *ἐξοδον* S B L L E: *διαφορὰν* A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

καλυφθῇ· ἄλλοι γάρ σου πρότεροί εἰσιν καὶ βελτίονές σου, οἷς ἔδει ἀποκαλυφθῆναι τὰ ὄράματα ταῦτα· ἀλλ' ἵνα δοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, σοὶ ἀπεκαλύφθη καὶ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται διὰ τοὺς διψύχους, τοὺς διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν εἰ ἄρα ἔστιν ταῦτα ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν.⁵¹ λέγε αὐτοῖς ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἔστιν ἀληθῆ, καὶ οὐθὲν ἑξωθέν ἔστιν τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἰσχυρὰ καὶ βέβαια καὶ τεθεμελιωμένα ἐστίν.

13 (III.5)

Ἄκουε νῦν περὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν ὑπαγόντων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν. οἱ μὲν οὖν λίθοι οἱ τετράγωνοι καὶ λευκοὶ καὶ συμφωνοῦντες ταῖς ἀρμογαῖς αὐτῶν, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διδάσκαλοι καὶ διάκονοι⁵² οἱ πορευθέντες κατὰ τὴν σεμνότητα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπισκοπήσαντες καὶ διδάξαντες καὶ διακονήσαντες ἀγνῶς καὶ σεμνῶς τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς⁵³ τοῦ θεοῦ,⁵⁴ οἱ μὲν κεκοιμημένοι, οἱ δὲ ἔτι ὄντες· καὶ πάντοτε ἑαυτοῖς συνεφώνησαν καὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς εἰρήνην ἔσχαν καὶ ἀλλήλων ἤκουον· διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ πύργου συμφωνοῦσιν αἱ ἀρμογαὶ αὐτῶν. 2. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἐλκόμενοι καὶ ἐπιτιθέμενοι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν καὶ συμφωνοῦντες ταῖς ἀρμογαῖς αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν ἐτέρων λίθων τῶν ἤδη ὠκοδομημένων, τίνες εἰσίν; οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ⁵⁵ παθόντες ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου.⁵⁶

⁵¹ εἰ ἄρα . . . οὐκ ἔστιν S^c B A (ἔσται twice) L L E: om. S

cause you are more worthy than everyone else. For others are ahead of you and better than you; and these visions should have been revealed to them. But that the name of God may be glorified, the matter has been revealed to you and will be revealed, for the sake of those who are of two minds, who debate in their hearts whether these things are so or not. Tell them that all these things are true, that none of them is outside the truth, but that everything is firm and certain and established.

13 (III.5)

“Hear now about the stones that go into the building. On the one hand, the squared and white stones that fit together at the joints are the apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons who live reverently towards God and perform their duties as bishops, teachers, and deacons for the chosen ones of God in a holy and respectful way; some of these have fallen asleep, but others are still living. And they have always been harmonious with one another and at peace with one another, and they have listened to one another. For this reason their joints fit together in the building of the tower.” 2. “But who are the ones drawn from the depths of the sea and placed into the building, who fit together at their joints with the other stones already built in it?” “These are those who have suffered on account of the

52 καὶ διάκονοι S B L L: om. A E

53 ἐκλεκτοῖς S B L L E: δούλοις A

54 θεοῦ S B L L E: add τὸν λόγον A

55 οἱ S B L² E: add κεκοιμημένοι A L¹

56 κυρίου B A L L E: θεοῦ S

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

3. τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους λίθους τοὺς φερομένους ἀπὸ τῆς ξηρᾶς θέλω γνῶναι τίνες εἰσὶν, κυρία. ἔφη· τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ὑπάγοντας καὶ μὴ λατομουμένους, τούτους ὁ κύριος ἑδοκίμασεν, ὅτι ἐπορεύθησαν ἐν τῇ εὐθύτητι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατωρθώσαντο τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ. 4. οἱ δὲ ἀγόμενοι καὶ τιθέμενοι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τίνες εἰσὶν; νέοι εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ πίστει⁵⁷ καὶ πιστοί. νουθετοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸ ἀγαθοποιεῖν, διότι οὐχ⁵⁸ εὐρέθη ἐν αὐτοῖς πονηρία. 5. οὓς δὲ ἀπέβαλλον καὶ ἐρίπτουν, τίνες εἰσὶν; οὗτοί εἰσιν ἡμαρτηκότες καὶ θέλοντες μετανοῆσαι· διὰ τοῦτο μακρὰν οὐκ ἀπερίφησαν ἔξω τοῦ πύργου, ὅτι εὐχρηστοὶ ἔσονται εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν, ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν. οἱ οὖν μέλλοντες μετανοεῖν, ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν, ἰσχυροὶ ἔσονται ἐν τῇ πίστει, ἐὰν νῦν μετανοήσωσιν ἐν ᾧ οἰκοδομεῖται ὁ πύργος. ἐὰν δὲ τελεσθῇ ἡ οἰκοδομή, οὐκέτι ἔχουσιν τόπον, ἀλλ' ἔσονται ἔκβολοι. μόνον δὲ τοῦτο ἔχουσιν, παρὰ τῷ πύργῳ κείσθαι.

14 (III.6)

Τοὺς δὲ κατακοπτομένους καὶ μακρὰν ῥιπτομένους ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου θέλεις γνῶναι; οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς ἀνομίας· ἐπίστευσαν δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει, καὶ πᾶσα πονηρία οὐκ ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν· διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔχουσιν σωτηρίαν, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσιν εὐχρηστοὶ εἰς οἰκοδομὴν διὰ τὰς πονηρίας αὐτῶν. διὰ τοῦτο συνεκόπησαν καὶ πόρρῳ ἀπερίφησαν διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ κυρίου, ὅτι

name of the Lord.” 3. “But I also want to know, Lady, who the other stones are, the ones brought from the dry land.” She said, “Those that go into the building without being hewn are ones the Lord has approved, because they walk in the uprightness of the Lord and carry out his commandments.” 4. “And who are the ones brought and placed in the building?” “These are those who are new in the faith and faithful. They are admonished by the angels to do good; for this reason, no evil has been found in them.” 5. “But who are the ones who were tossed aside and cast out?” “These are those who have sinned but wish to repent. For this reason they are not cast far away from the tower, because they will be useful for the building, if they repent. And so if those who are about to repent do so, they will be strong in faith—if they repent now while the tower is still under construction. But if the building is completed, they will no longer have a place, but will be outcasts. This alone is to their advantage, that they lie next to the tower.

14 (III.6)

“But do you want to know about the ones that are broken off and cast far from the tower? These are the children of lawlessness. For they came to faith hypocritically and no wickedness ever left them. And so they have no salvation, since, because of their wickedness, they are useless for the building. This is why they were broken off and cast far away, because of the Lord’s anger, since they aggravated

⁵⁷ πίστει S B L L: add τοῦ κυρίου A E

⁵⁸ οὐχ A L¹ E: om. S B L²

παρώργισαν αὐτόν.⁵⁹ 2. τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους οὓς ἑώρακας πολλοὺς κειμένους, μὴ⁶⁰ ὑπάγοντας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν, οὗτοι οἱ μὲν ἐψωριακότες εἰσὶν οἱ ἐγνωκότες τὴν ἀλήθειαν, μὴ ἐπιμένοντες δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ μηδὲ κολλώμενοι τοῖς ἀγίοις· διὰ τοῦτο ἄχρηστοί εἰσιν.⁶¹ 3. οἱ δὲ τὰς σχισμὰς ἔχοντες τίνες εἰσὶν; οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἔχοντες καὶ μὴ εἰρηνεύοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ πρόσωπον εἰρήνης ἔχοντες, ὅταν δὲ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀποχωρήσωσιν, αἱ πονηρίαι αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἐμμένουσιν. αὗται οὖν αἱ σχισμαὶ εἰσιν ἃς ἔχουσιν οἱ λίθοι. 4. οἱ δὲ κεκολωβώμενοι οὗτοι εἰσιν πεπιστευκότες μὲν καὶ τὸ πλεῖον μέρος ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, τινὰ δὲ μέρη ἔχουσιν τῆς ἀνομίας. διὰ τοῦτο κολοβοὶ καὶ οὐχ ὀλοτελεῖς εἰσιν. 5. οἱ δὲ λευκοὶ καὶ στρογγύλοι καὶ μὴ ἀρμόζοντες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν τίνες εἰσὶν, κυρία; ἀποκριθεῖσά μοι λέγει· ἕως πότε μωρὸς εἶ καὶ ἀσύνετος, καὶ πάντα ἐπερωτᾷς καὶ οὐδὲν νοεῖς; οὗτοι εἰσιν ἔχοντες μὲν πίστιν, ἔχοντες δὲ καὶ πλοῦτον τούτου τοῦ αἰῶνος· ὅταν δὲ γένηται θλίψις, διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τὰς πραγματείας ἀπαρνούνται τὸν κύριον αὐτῶν. 6. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῇ λέγω· κυρία, πότε οὖν εὐχρηστοὶ ἔσονται εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν; ὅταν, φησὶν, περικοπῇ αὐτῶν ὁ πλοῦτος ὁ ψυχαγωγῶν αὐτούς, τότε εὐχρηστοὶ ἔσονται τῷ θεῷ. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ λίθος ὁ στρογγύλος ἐὰν μὴ περικοπῇ καὶ ἀποβάλλῃ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τι, οὐ δύναται τετράγωνος γενέσθαι, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πλουτοῦντες ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι, ἐὰν μὴ περικοπῇ αὐτῶν ὁ πλοῦτος, οὐ δύνανται τῷ

him. 2. But with respect to the many other stones you saw lying on the ground and not coming into the building—the ones that are rough are those who know the truth but do not remain in it nor cling to the saints. This is why they are of no use.” 3. “But who are the ones with cracks?” “These are those who hold a grudge against one another in their hearts and have no peace among themselves. Even though they seem to be peace-loving, when they leave one another’s presence, their wickedness remains in their hearts. These are the cracks the stones have. 4. But the ones that are broken off are those who have believed and live, for the most part, in righteousness, but also have a certain share of lawlessness. This is why they are broken off and not whole.” 5. “But who are the white stones, Lady, which are rounded and do not fit into the building?” She replied to me, “How long will you be foolish and ignorant, asking everything and understanding nothing? These are the ones who have faith, but also are wealthy in this age. But when affliction comes, because of their wealth and their business affairs, they deny their Lord.” 6. And I responded to her, “And so when, Lady, will they be useful for the building?” “When the wealth that beguiles them is cut off from them,” she said, “then they will be useful to God. For just as a round stone cannot be made square unless it has something cut off and discarded, so also with those who are rich in this age: if their wealth is not cut off from them,

⁵⁹ διὰ τοῦτο . . . αὐτόν S B L L E: om. A

⁶⁰ μὴ S^c L¹ (L²): καὶ μὴ A E: om. S B

⁶¹ μὴδὲ . . . εἰσιν A L¹: om. S B L² E

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

κυρίῳ⁶² εὐχρηστοὶ γενέσθαι. 7. ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ πρῶτον γνῶθι· ὅτε ἐπλούτεις ἄχρηστος ἦς, νῦν δὲ εὐχρηστος εἶ καὶ ὠφέλιμος τῇ ζωῇ. εὐχρηστοὶ γίνεσθε τῷ θεῷ· καὶ γὰρ σὺ αὐτὸς χρᾶσαι ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν λίθων.⁶³

15 (III.7)

Τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους λίθους οὓς εἶδες μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου ῥιπτομένους καὶ πίπτοντας εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ κυλιομένους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀνοδίας, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ πεπιστευκότες μὲν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διψυχίας αὐτῶν ἀφίουσιν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀληθινήν· δοκοῦντες οὖν βελτίονα ὁδὸν δύνασθαι εὐρεῖν, πλανῶνται καὶ ταλαιπωροῦσιν περιπατοῦντες ἐν ταῖς ἀνοδίαις.⁶⁴ 2. οἱ δὲ πίπτοντες εἰς τὸ πῦρ καὶ καιόμενοι, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ εἰς τέλος ἀποστάντες τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ μετανοῆσαι διὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀσελγείας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πονηριῶν ὧν ἡργάσαντο. 3. τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους τοὺς πίπτοντας ἐγγὺς τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ μὴ δυναμένους κυλισθῆναι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ⁶⁵ τίνες εἰσίν; οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὸν λόγον ἀκούσαντες καὶ θέλοντες βαπτισθῆναι εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου· εἶτα ὅταν αὐτοῖς ἔλθῃ εἰς μνείαν ἢ ἀγνότης⁶⁶ τῆς ἀληθείας, μετανοοῦσιν καὶ πορεύονται πάλιν ὀπίσω τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αὐτῶν τῶν πονηρῶν. 4. ἐτέλεσεν οὖν τὴν ἐξήγησιν τοῦ πύργου. 5. ἀναιδευσάμενος ἔτι

⁶² κυρίῳ S L L E: χριστῷ A: θεῷ B

they cannot be useful to the Lord. 7. You should know this above all from your own case. When you were wealthy, you were of no use; but now you are useful and helpful in life. All of you should be useful to God. For you yourself are also being taken from the same stones.

15 (III.7)

“But the other stones that you saw cast far from the tower and falling on the path and rolling from the path onto the rough terrain, these are the ones who have believed, but have left their true path because they are of two minds. They are lost, thinking they can find a better path; and they are miserable, walking over the rough terrain. 2. But the ones that fell into the fire and were burned are those who completely abandoned the living God; and they no longer think about repenting because of their licentious desires and the wicked deeds they have performed.” 3. “But who are the other ones, which fall near the water but cannot be rolled into it?” “These are the ones who have heard the word and wanted to be baptized in the name of the Lord. But then when they recall what the life of true purity involves, they change their minds and return to pursue their evil desires.” 4. And so she completed her interpretation of the tower. 5. But being completely shameless, I asked

⁶³ καὶ γὰρ . . . λίθων A: καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν λίθων ἔστε B: *nam et tu ipse ex eis lapidibus fuisti (es or eris E) L¹ E: et tu autem utilior de ipsis lapidibus eris L²: om. S* ⁶⁴ ἀνοδίαίς B A L L E: ἀνομίαίς S ⁶⁵ ὕδωρ S B L¹: add θέλεις γνῶναι A E: add *dic mihi L²* ⁶⁶ ἀγνότης S L²: ἀγιότης L¹: γνῶσις A: *obliti sunt (ἀγνοοῦσι) E: [lacuna B]*

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

αὐτὴν ἐπηρώτησα, εἰ ἄρα πάντες οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι οἱ ἀποβεβλημένοι καὶ μὴ ἀρμόζοντες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου, εἰ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς μετάνοια καὶ ἔχουσιν τόπον εἰς τὸν πύργον τοῦτον. ἔχουσιν, φησὶν, μετάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ εἰς τοῦτον τὸν πύργον οὐ δύνανται ἀρμόσαι· 6. ἐτέρῳ δὲ τόπῳ ἀρμόσουσιν πολὺν ἐλάττονι, καὶ τοῦτο ὅταν βασανισθῶσιν καὶ ἐκπληρώσωσιν τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μετατεθίσονται, ὅτι μετέλαβον τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ δικαίου. καὶ τότε αὐτοῖς συμβήσεται μετατεθῆναι ἐκ τῶν βασάνων αὐτῶν, διὰ⁶⁷ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἡργάσαντο πονηρά. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν⁶⁸ μετανοῆσαι⁶⁹ οὐ σώζονται διὰ τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν αὐτῶν.

16 (III.8)

Ὅτε οὖν ἐπαυσάμην ἐρωτῶν αὐτὴν περὶ πάντων τούτων, λέγει μοι· θέλεις ἄλλο ἰδεῖν; κατεπίθυμος ὢν τοῦ θεάσασθαι περιχαρὴς ἐγενόμην τοῦ ἰδεῖν. 2. ἐμβλέψασά μοι ὑπεμειδίασεν καὶ λέγει μοι· βλέπεις ἐπὶ τὰ γυναῖκας κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου; βλέπω, φημί, κυρία. ὁ πύργος οὗτος ὑπὸ τούτων βαστάζεται κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ κυρίου. 3. ἄκουε νῦν τὰς ἐνεργείας αὐτῶν. ἡ μὲν πρώτη αὐτῶν, ἡ κρατοῦσα τὰς χεῖρας, Πίστις καλεῖται· διὰ ταύτης σώζονται οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. 4. ἡ δὲ ἐτέρα, ἡ περιεζωσμένη καὶ ἀνδριζομένη,⁷⁰ Ἐγκράτεια καλεῖται· αὕτη θυγάτηρ ἐστὶν τῆς Πί-

her yet another question, whether these stones that were tossed aside and not fit into the building of the tower could repent and have a place in the tower. "They can repent," she said, "but they cannot be fit into this tower. 6. They will be fit into a greatly inferior place—and then only after they have been tormented and have completed the days of their sins. That is why they will be removed from there, because they have taken part in the righteous word. And then they will be removed from the torments inflicted for the evil deeds they did. But if deep down they do not want to repent, they will not be saved, because of their hardened hearts."

16 (III.8)

And so, when I stopped asking her about all these things, she said to me, "Do you want to see something else?" Being so eager to observe, I was excited by the prospect. 2. She looked at me and smiled, and said to me, "Do you see seven women around the tower?" "I see them, Lady," I replied. "This tower," she said, "is supported by them according to the commandment of the Lord. 3. Hear now about the work they do. The first of them, the one clasping her hands, is called Faith. Those who are chosen by God are saved through her. 4. And the other one, the one wearing a belt and acting like a man [*Or: the one girded and courageous*], is called Self-restraint. She is the daughter of

⁶⁷ διὰ S B L²: ἐὰν ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν A L¹ E

⁶⁸ τὰ ἔργα . . . καρδίαν αὐτῶν S B L L E: om. A

⁶⁹ μετανῶσαι Sc A E: om. S B L L

⁷⁰ καὶ ἀνδριζομένη S B L L: om. A E

στεως. ὃς ἂν οὖν ἀκολουθήσῃ αὐτῇ, μακάριος γίνεται ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πάντων τῶν πονηρῶν ἔργων ἀφέξεται, πιστεύων ὅτι ἐὰν ἀφέξεται⁷¹ πάσης ἐπιθυμίας πονηρᾶς,⁷² κληρονομήσει ζωὴν αἰώνιον. 5. αἱ δὲ ἕτεραι, κυρία, τίνες εἰσὶν; θυγατέρες ἀλλήλων εἰσὶν· καλοῦνται δὲ ἢ μὲν Ἀπλότης, ἢ δὲ Ἐπιστήμη, ἢ δὲ Ἀκακία, ἢ δὲ Σεμνότης, ἢ δὲ Ἀγάπη. ὅταν οὖν τὰ ἔργα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν πάντα ποιήσῃς, δύνασαι ζῆσαι. 6. ἤθελον, φημί, γινῶναι, κυρία, τίς τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει αὐτῶν. ἄκουε, φησὶν, τὰς δυνάμεις αἷς ἔχουσιν. 7. κρατοῦνται δὲ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν⁷³ καὶ ἀκολουθοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις, καθὼς καὶ γεγεννημέναι εἰσὶν. ἐκ τῆς Πίστεως γεννᾶται Ἐγκράτεια, ἐκ τῆς Ἐγκρατείας Ἀπλότης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀπλότητος Ἀκακία, ἐκ τῆς Ἀκακίας Σεμνότης, ἐκ τῆς Σεμνότητος Ἐπιστήμη, ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιστήμης Ἀγάπη. τούτων οὖν τὰ ἔργα ἀγνὰ καὶ σεμνὰ καὶ θεῖά⁷⁴ ἐστίν. 8. ὃς ἂν οὖν δουλεύσῃ ταύταις καὶ ἰσχύσῃ κρατῆσαι τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν, ἐν τῷ πύργῳ ἔξει τὴν κατοίκησιν μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ θεοῦ. 9. ἐπηρώτων δὲ αὐτὴν περὶ τῶν καιρῶν, εἰ ἤδη συντέλειά ἐστιν. ἢ δὲ ἀνέκραγε φωνῇ μεγάλη λέγουσα· ἀσύνετε ἄνθρωπε, οὐχ ὁρᾶς τὸν πύργον ἔτι οἰκοδομούμενον; ὥς ἐὰν οὖν⁷⁵ συντελεσθῇ⁷⁶ ὁ πύργος οἰκοδομούμενος, ἔχει⁷⁷ τέλος.⁷⁸ ἀλλὰ ταχὺ ἐποικοδομηθήσεται. μηκέτι με ἐπερώτα μηδέν· ἀρκετή σοι ἡ ὑπόμνησις αὕτη καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις, καὶ ἡ ἀνακαίνωσις

⁷¹ πιστεύων . . . ἀφέξεται B A L L E: καὶ S

Faith. Whoever follows her will be fortunate in his life, because he will abandon all his evil deeds, believing that if he abandons every evil desire, he will inherit eternal life.” 5. “And the others, Lady, who are they?” “They are daughters of one another, called Simplicity, Knowledge, Innocence, Reverence, and Love. And so, when you perform all the works of their mother, you will be able to live.” 6. I replied, “I wish to know, Lady, about the power that each of them has.” “Listen,” she said, “to the powers they have. 7. Their powers are connected and follow one another in the order of their birth. From Faith is born Self-restraint, from Self-restraint Simplicity, from Simplicity Innocence, from Innocence Reverence, from Reverence Knowledge, and from Knowledge Love. And so their deeds are pure, reverent, and godly. 8. Whoever serves as their slave and is able to adhere to their deeds will have a place to reside in the tower, along with the saints of God.” 9. I began to ask her about the times, about whether the end had already come, and she cried out with a great voice, “You fool! Do you not see that the tower is still under construction? Only when its construction is finished will the end arrive. But it will be built quickly. No longer ask me anything. This reminder is enough for you and the saints—along with the

⁷² *πονηρᾶς* S A L² E: om. B L¹

⁷³ *αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν* S B L¹ E: om. A L²

⁷⁴ *θειά: τίμια* B (L¹ vid.)

⁷⁵ *ὥς ἐὰν οὖν* S^c L¹ (E): *ὥς οὖν* B: *ὅς ἐὰν* S: *ἕως ἂν οὖν* A L²

⁷⁶ *συντελεσθῇ* (*τελεσθῇ* B) S B L L E: om. A

⁷⁷ *ἔχει* S B L¹ E: *ἔξει* A (L²)

⁷⁸ *τέλος* S L L E: *τὸ τέλος* B A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

τῶν πνευμάτων ὑμῶν. 10. ἀλλ' οὐ σοὶ μόνῳ ἀπεκαλύφθη, ἀλλ' ἵνα πᾶσιν δηλώσεις αὐτά 11. μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας· νοήσαί σε γὰρ δεῖ πρῶτον. ἐντέλλομαι δέ σοι πρῶτον,⁷⁹ Ἑρμᾶ, τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἃ σοι μέλλω λέγειν, λαλήσαι αὐτὰ πάντα⁸⁰ εἰς τὰ ὦτα τῶν ἀγίων, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες αὐτὰ καὶ ποιήσαντες καθαρισθῶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ σὺ δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν.

17 (III.9)

Ἀκούσατέ μου, τέκνα· ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐξέθρεψα ἐν πολλῇ ἀπλότητι καὶ ἀκακίᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς στάξαντος τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ἵνα δικαιωθῆτε καὶ ἀγιασθῆτε ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης σκολιότητος. ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐ θέλετε παῖναι ἀπὸ τῆς πονηρίας ὑμῶν. 2. νῦν οὖν ἀκούσατέ μου καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐπισκέπτεσθε ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθε ἀλλήλων, καὶ μὴ μόνοι τὰ κτίσματα τοῦ θεοῦ μεταλαμβάνετε ἐκ καταχύματος, ἀλλὰ μεταδίδοτε καὶ τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις. 3. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐδεσμάτων ἀσθένειαν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτῶν ἐπισπῶνται καὶ λυμαίνονται τὴν σάρκα αὐτῶν· τῶν δὲ μὴ ἐχόντων ἐδέσματα λυμαίνεται ἡ σὰρξ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὸ ἀρκετὸν τῆς τροφῆς, καὶ διαφθείρεται τὸ σῶμα αὐτῶν. 4. αὕτη οὖν ἡ ἀσυνκρασία βλαβερά ὑμῖν τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ μὴ μεταδιδούσιν τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις. 5. βλέπετε τὴν κρίσιν τὴν ἐπερχομένην. οἱ ὑπερέχοντες οὖν ἐκζητεῖτε τοὺς πεινῶντας ἕως οὗπω ὁ

renewal of your spirits. 10. These things have not been revealed for your sake alone; for you are to show them to all the others, 11. in three days; first, however, you must think. But I enjoin you first, Hermas, with these words I am about to say; you are to speak them all in the ears of the saints, that once they have heard and done them they may be cleansed from their wicked deeds, and you along with them.

17 (III.9)

“Listen to me, children. I raised you with great simplicity, innocence, and reverence because of the mercy of the Lord, who caused his righteousness to trickle down upon you that you may be made upright and purified from all evil and perversity. Yet you do not wish to stop doing your wicked deeds. 2. And so, now, listen to me: be at peace with one another, take care of one another, help one another; and do not take an overabundance of God’s creations for yourselves, but share with those in need. 3. For those who enjoy many kinds of food make their flesh weak and harm it; but the flesh of those without enough food is harmed by lack of proper nourishment, and their body wastes away. 4. This disparity is harmful to you who have but do not share with those in need. 5. Consider the judgment that is coming. You who have an abundance should therefore

⁷⁹ ἐντέλλομαι . . . πρῶτον A L² E: ἐντέλλομαι δὲ σοί B: om. S L¹

⁸⁰ αὐτὰ πάντα B L²: αὐτὰ S: πάντα A: *ea omnibus* L¹: *omnibus* E

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

πύργος ἐτελέσθη· μετὰ γὰρ τὸ τελεσθῆναι τὸν πύργον
 θελήσετε ἀγαθοποιεῖν, καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε τόπον. 6. βλέ-
 πετε οὖν ὑμεῖς οἱ γαυρούμενοι ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ ὑμῶν,
 μήποτε στεναῶουσιν οἱ ὑστερούμενοι, καὶ ὁ στε-
 ναγμὸς αὐτῶν ἀναβήσεται πρὸς τὸν κύριον, καὶ ἐκ-
 κλεισθήσεσθε μετὰ τῶν⁸¹ ἀγαθῶν ὑμῶν ἔξω τῆς
 θύρας τοῦ πύργου. 7. νῦν οὖν ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς προ-
 ηγουμένοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῖς πρωτοκαθεδρίταις·
 μὴ γίνεσθε ὅμοιοι τοῖς φαρμακοῖς. οἱ φαρμακοὶ μὲν
 οὖν τὰ φάρμακα ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὰς πυξίδας βαστάζουσιν,
 ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ φάρμακον⁸² ὑμῶν καὶ τὸν ἰὸν εἰς τὴν
 καρδίαν. 8. ἐνεσκιρωμένοι ἐστέ καὶ οὐ θέλετε καθα-
 ρίσαι τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ συγκεράσαι ὑμῶν⁸³ τὴν
 φρόνησιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ἵνα σχῆτε
 ἔλεος παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου. 9. βλέπετε
 οὖν, τέκνα, μήποτε αὐταὶ αἱ διχοστασίαι ὑμῶν ἀπο-
 στερήσουσιν τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν. 10. πῶς ὑμεῖς παιδεύειν
 θέλετε τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς κυρίου, αὐτοὶ μὴ ἔχοντες παι-
 δεῖαν; παιδεύετε οὖν ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν αὐ-
 τοῖς, ἵνα καὶ γὰρ κατέναντι τοῦ πατρὸς ἰλαρὰ σταθεῖσα
 λόγον ἀποδῶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πάντων τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν.

18 (III.10)

Ὅτε οὖν ἐπαύσατο μετ' ἐμοῦ λαλοῦσα, ἦλθον οἱ ἔξ
 νεανίσκοι οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες καὶ ἀπήνεγκαν αὐτὴν πρὸς
 τὸν πύργον, καὶ ἄλλοι τέσσαρες ἦραν τὸ συμψέλιον
 καὶ ἀπήνεγκαν καὶ αὐτὸ πρὸς⁸⁴ τὸν πύργον. τούτων

seek out the hungry, before the tower is completed. For after the tower is completed you will long to do good but will have no opportunity. 6. And so, take heed, you who exult in your wealth, lest those in need complain and their complaint rises up to the Lord, and you be shut out from the gate of the tower, along with your goods. 7. And so now I say to you who lead the church and sit in its chief seats. Do not be like the sorcerers. For the sorcerers carry their potions in boxes, but you carry your potion and poison in the heart. 8. You have grown calloused and refuse to cleanse your hearts and to join your minds together in clean hearts, so as to receive mercy from the great king. 9. And so take heed, children, lest these dissensions deprive you of your life. 10. How can you want to discipline the Lord's chosen ones, when you yourselves have no discipline? And so, discipline one another and be at peace among yourselves, that I also may stand before the Father cheerfully and so render an account to our Lord for all of you."

18 (III.10)

Then, when she stopped speaking with me, the six young men who were building came and took her away to the tower. And four others came and took the couch and carried it off to the tower as well. I did not see their faces,

⁸¹ τῶν S B L¹ E: add ἀδελφῶν A: add *omnibus* L²

⁸² τὸ φάρμακον S A L¹ E: τὰ φάρμακα B L²

⁸³ συνκεράσαι ὑμῶν S^c A L L E: om. B S

⁸⁴ καὶ αὐτὸ πρὸς S E: καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς B: εἰς A (L²): *et ierunt iterum ipsi in turrem* L¹

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

τὸ πρόσωπον οὐκ εἶδον, ὅτι ἀπεστραμμένοι ἦσαν. 2. ὑπάγουσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἡρώτων ἵνα μοι ἀποκαλύψῃ περὶ τῶν τριῶν μορφῶν ἐν αἷς μοι ἐνεφανίσθῃ. ἀποκριθεῖσά μοι λέγει· περὶ τούτων ἕτερον δεῖ σε ἐπερωτῆσαι ἵνα σοι ἀποκαλυφθῇ. 3. ὥφθῃ δέ μοι, ἀδελφοί, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ὁράσει τῇ περυσινῇ λίαν πρεσβυτέρα καὶ ἐν καθέδρᾳ καθημένη. 4. τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ ὁράσει τὴν μὲν ὄψιν νεωτέραν εἶχεν, τὴν δὲ σάρκα καὶ τὰς τρίχας πρεσβυτέρας, καὶ ἐστηκυῖά μοι ἐλάλει. ἰλαρωτέρα δὲ ἦν ἢ τὸ πρότερον.⁸⁵ 5. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὁράσει ὅλη νεωτέρα καὶ κάλλει ἐκπρεπεστάτη, μόνας δὲ τὰς τρίχας πρεσβυτέρας εἶχεν· ἰλαρὰ δὲ εἰς τέλος ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ συμφελίου καθημένη. 6. περὶ τούτων περίλυπος ἦμην λίαν τοῦ γινῶναί με τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ταύτην. καὶ βλέπω τὴν πρεσβυτέραν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς λέγουσάν μοι· πᾶσα ἐρώτησις ταπεινοφροσύνης χρήζει· νήστευσον οὖν, καὶ λήμψῃ ὃ αἰτεῖς παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου. 7. ἐνήστευσα οὖν μίαν ἡμέραν, καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτί μοι ὥφθῃ νεανίσκος καὶ λέγει μοι· τί⁸⁶ σὺ ὑπὸ χεῖρα αἰτεῖς ἀποκαλύψεις ἐν δεήσει; βλέπε μήποτε πολλὰ αἰτούμενος βλάβῃς σου τὴν σάρκα. 8. ἀρκοῦσίν σοι αἱ ἀποκαλύψεις αὐται.⁸⁷ μήτι δύνῃ ἰσχυροτέρας ἀποκαλύψεις ὧν ἐώρακας ἰδεῖν; 9. ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ λέγω· κύριε, τοῦτο μόνον αἰτοῦμαι, περὶ τῶν τριῶν μορφῶν τῆς πρεσβυτέρας, ἵνα ἀποκάλυψις ὁλοτελὴς γένηται. ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· μέχρι τίνος ἀσύνετοί ἐστε; ἀλλ' αἱ διψυχῖαι ὑμῶν ἀσυνέτους ὑμᾶς ποιοῦσιν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν κύριον. 10. ἀπο-

because they were turned away. 2. But as she was leaving I began asking her to give me a revelation about the three forms in which she appeared to me. And she answered me, "You must ask someone else to reveal these things to you." 3. For in the first vision, brothers, the year before, she appeared to me as a very elderly woman, seated on a chair. 4. In the other vision she had a younger face, but her skin and hair were older, and she spoke to me while standing. But she was more cheerful than before. 5. And in the third vision she was very young and exceedingly beautiful in appearance; only her hair was older. But she was completely cheerful and seated on a couch. 6. I was very sad, wanting to know about this revelation. Then I saw the elderly woman in a night vision, saying to me, "Every request requires humility. And so fast, and you will receive from the Lord what you ask." 7. So I fasted one day, and in that night a young man appeared to me and said, "Why do you constantly ask for revelations in your prayer? Take care, or you will harm your flesh by asking so much. 8. These revelations are enough for you. How can you manage to see revelations even more powerful than the ones you have already seen?" 9. I replied to him, "Lord, I am asking only about the three forms of the elderly woman, that the revelation may be complete." He answered me, "How long will you people be ignorant? You have become ignorant from being of two minds, not having your hearts set on the Lord." 10. I

⁸⁵ ἡ τὸ πρότερον A L L E: τὸ πρόσωπον B S

⁸⁶ τί A L¹ E: ὅτι S B L²

⁸⁷ ἀρκοῦσιν . . . αὐται S^c B A L L E: om. S

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

κριθείς αὐτῷ πάλιν εἶπον· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σοῦ, κύριε, ἀκριβέστερον αὐτὰ γνωσόμεθα.

19 (3.11)

Ἄκουε, φησὶν, περὶ τῶν⁸⁸ μορφῶν ὧν ἐπιζητεῖς. 2. τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ὁράσει διατί πρεσβύτερα ὥφθη σοι καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδραν καθημένη; ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα ὑμῶν πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἤδη μεμαραμμένον καὶ μὴ ἔχον δύναμιν ἀπὸ τῶν μαλακιῶν⁸⁹ ὑμῶν καὶ διψυχιῶν. 3. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, μηκέτι ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα τοῦ ἀνανεῶσαι, οὐδὲν ἄλλο προσδοκῶσιν εἰ μὴ τὴν κοίμησιν αὐτῶν, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς μαλακισθέντες ἀπὸ τῶν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων παρεδώκατε ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰς ἀκηδίας καὶ οὐκ ἐπερίψατε ἑαυτῶν τὰς μερίμνας ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον· ἀλλὰ ἐθραύσθη ὑμῶν ἡ διάνοια, καὶ ἐπαλαιώθητε ταῖς λύπαις ὑμῶν. 4. διατί οὖν ἐν καθέδρᾳ ἐκάθητο, ἤθελον γινῶναι, κύριε. ὅτι πᾶς ἀσθενὴς εἰς καθέδραν καθέζεται διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα συνκρατηθῇ ἡ ἀσθένεια τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ. ἔχεις τὸν τύπον τῆς πρώτης ὁράσεως.

20 (III.12)

Τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ ὁράσει εἶδες αὐτὴν ἐστηκυῖαν καὶ τὴν ὄψιν νεωτέραν ἔχουσαν καὶ ἱλαρωτέραν παρὰ τὸ πρότερον, τὴν δὲ σάρκα καὶ τὰς τρίχας πρεσβυτέρας. ἄκουε, φησὶν, καὶ ταύτην τὴν παραβολήν. 2. ὅταν

said to him again, "But from you, Lord, we will learn all these things more accurately."

19 (III.11)

"Listen," he said, "concerning the forms you are inquiring after. 2. In the first vision, why did she appear to you as an elderly woman, seated on a chair? Because your spirit is elderly and already fading away, having no vigor because you are feeble and of two minds. 3. For just as elderly people who have no hope of being rejuvenated look forward to nothing but their sleep [*Or: death*], so also you, grown feeble because of your worldly affairs, have handed yourselves over to apathy, and you do not cast your anxieties upon the Lord. Your mind has been wounded and you have grown old in your sorrows." 4. "I also want to know, Lord, why she was seated in a chair." "Because anyone who is weak sits in a chair out of weakness, to support the weakness of the body. Now you have the meaning of the first vision.

20 (III.12)

"And in the second vision you saw her standing, and she had a younger face and was more cheerful than before, even though her skin and hair looked older. Listen," he said, "to this parable as well. 2. Someone who is older and

⁸⁸ τῶν S B L L E: add τριῶν Sc A

⁸⁹ μαλακίων S B L L E: ἁμαρτιῶν A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

πρεσβύτερός τις, ἤδη⁹⁰ ἀφηλικῶς ἑαυτὸν διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πτωχότητα, οὐδὲν ἕτερον προσδέχεται εἰ μὴ τὴν ἐσχάτην ἡμέραν τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ· εἶτα ἐξαίφνης κατελείφθη αὐτῷ κληρονομία, ἀκούσας δὲ ἐξηγέρθη καὶ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἐνεδύσατο τὴν ἰσχύν, καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνάκειται, ἀλλὰ ἕστηκεν, καὶ ἀνανεοῦται αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἤδη ἐφθαρμένον ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων αὐτοῦ πράξεων, καὶ οὐκέτι κάθηται, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρίζεται· οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀκούσαντες τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν, ἣν ὑμῖν ὁ κύριος ἀπεκάλυψεν,⁹¹ 3. ὅτι ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀνεενώσατο τὰ πνεύματα ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀπέθεσθε τὰς μαλακίας ὑμῶν, καὶ προσῆλθεν ὑμῖν ἰσχυρότης καὶ ἐνεδυναμώθητε ἐν τῇ πίστει, καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ κύριος τὴν ἰσχυροποίησιν ὑμῶν ἐχάρη· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐδήλωσεν ὑμῖν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου, καὶ ἕτερα δηλώσει, ἐὰν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς.

21 (III.13)

Τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὁράσει εἶδες αὐτὴν νεωτέραν καὶ καλὴν καὶ ἰαράν καὶ καλὴν τὴν μορφήν αὐτῆς.⁹² 2. ὥς ἐὰν γάρ τινι λυπουμενῷ ἔλθῃ ἀγγελία ἀγαθὴ τις, εὐθὺς ἐπελάθετο τῶν προτέρων λυπῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο προσδέχεται εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀγγελίαν ἣν ἤκουσεν, καὶ ἰσχυροποιεῖται λοιπὸν εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἀνανεοῦται αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα διὰ τὴν χαρὰν ἣν ἔλαβεν· οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνανέωσιν εἰλήφατε τῶν πνευμάτων ὑμῶν ἰδόντες

has already given up all hope because of his bodily weakness and poverty looks forward to nothing except the last day of his life. Then suddenly an inheritance is left to him. And when he hears about it he rises up and in his excitement grows strong. No longer does he recline, but he stands and his spirit becomes rejuvenated even though it has been wasting away because of his daily life from before; and he no longer sits, but becomes manly [*Or: courageous*]. You are like this as well, when you hear what the Lord has revealed to you. 3. For he showed you compassion and rejuvenated your spirits; and you laid your feebleness to the side and strength seized you and you were empowered with faith. And when the Lord saw your renewed strength he was glad. For this reason he showed you the building of the tower, just as he will show you other things as well, if you are at peace with one another from your whole heart.

21 (III.13)

“But in the third vision you saw her younger and beautiful and cheerful, and her form was beautiful. 2. For it is as when some good news comes to a person who is grieving: immediately he forgets his former griefs and thinks about nothing but the news he has heard. And he is strengthened from that time on to do what is good, and his spirit is rejuvenated because of the exciting news he has received. So also your spirits have been rejuvenated from seeing these

⁹⁰ ἡδὲ S B L L E: om. A

⁹¹ ἦν . . . ἀνεκάλυψε S^c A L L E: om. B S

⁹² καὶ καλὴν . . . αὐτῆς S B L L E: om. A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ. 3. καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ συμφελίου εἶδες καθημένην, ἰσχυρὰ ἢ θέσις· ὅτι τέσσαρας πόδας ἔχει τὸ συμφέλιον καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἔστηκεν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόσμος διὰ τεσσάρων στοιχείων κρατεῖται. 4. οἱ οὖν μετανοήσαντες ὀλοτελῶς νέοι ἔσονται καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι, οἱ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας μετανοήσαντες. ἀπέχεις ὀλοτελή τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν· μηκέτι μηδὲν αἰτήσεις περὶ ἀποκαλύψεως.⁹³ εἰάν τι δὲ δέῃ, ἀποκαλυφθήσεταιί σοι.

Ὅρασις δ'

22 (IV.1)

Ἦν⁹⁴ εἶδον, ἀδελφοί, μετὰ ἡμέρας εἴκοσι τῆς προτέρας ὁράσεως τῆς γενομένης, εἰς τύπον τῆς θλίψεως τῆς ἐπερχομένης. 2. ὑπήγον εἰς ἀγρὸν τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Καμπανῇ. ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς δημοσίας ἐστὶν ὥσεί σταδία δέκα· ῥαδίως⁹⁵ δὲ ὁδεύεται ὁ τόπος. 3. μόνος οὖν περιπατῶν ἀξιώ τὸν κύριον ἵνα τὰς ἀποκαλύψεις καὶ τὰ ὁράματα ἃ μοι ἔδειξεν διὰ τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ τελειώσῃ, ἵνα με ἰσχυροποιήσῃ καὶ δῶ τὴν μετάνοιαν⁹⁶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐσκανδαλισμένοις, ἵνα δοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ τὸ μέγα καὶ ἔνδοξον, ὅτι με ἄξιον ἡγήσατο τοῦ δεῖξάί μοι τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ. 4. καὶ δοξάζοντός μου καὶ εὐχαριστοῦντος αὐτῷ, ὥς⁹⁷ ἦχος φωνῆς μοι ἀπεκρίθη· μὴ διψυχήσεις, Ἑρμᾶ. ἐν ἐμαντῷ ἡρξάμην διαλογίζεσθαι καὶ λέγειν· ἐγὼ τί ἔχω διψυχῆσαι οὕτω τεθεμελιωμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἰδὼν ἔνδοξα πράγματα;

good things. 3. And you saw her seated on a couch because that is a strong position, since the couch has four legs and stands firmly. For the world is also held firm through the four elements. 4. And so, those who fully repent will become new and firmly established—those who have repented from their whole heart. Now you have the revelation complete. No longer ask anything about it; if anything is still needed, it will be revealed to you.”

Vision Four

22 (IV.1)

This is what I saw, brothers, twenty days after the earlier vision, as a foreshadowing of the coming affliction. 2. I was going into the country on the Via Campania. This is just over a mile off the public road; the place is easily reached. 3. While walking alone, I was asking the Lord to complete the revelations and visions he had shown me through his holy church, that he might strengthen me and give repentance to his slaves who had stumbled, so that his great and glorious name might be glorified, since he had considered me worthy to see his marvelous acts. 4. And while I was giving him glory and thanks, something like the sound of a voice answered me, “Do not be of two minds, Hermas.” I began to debate with myself, “How can I be of two minds, when I have been firmly established by the Lord and seen

⁹³ περὶ ἀποκαλύψεως A L¹ E: om. S L²

⁹⁴ ἦν S: ὄρασιν ἦν A (L¹) L² E ⁹⁵ ῥαδίως S A: raro (= σπανίως) L L: vasta E ⁹⁶ μετάνοιαν S L²: add πᾶσι L¹ E: μετέληψιν πᾶσι A ⁹⁷ ὥς S L L E: om. A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

5. καὶ προσέβην μικρόν, ἀδελφοί, καὶ ἰδοὺ βλέπω
κονιορτὸν ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ ἡρξάμην λέγειν ἐν
ἐμαυτῷ· μήποτε κτήνη ἔρχονται καὶ κονιορτὸν ἐγεί-
ρουν; οὕτω δὲ ἦν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίου. 6. γινο-
μένου μείζονος καὶ μείζονος κονιορτοῦ ὑπενόησα εἶναί
τι θεῖον· μικρὸν ἐξέλαμψεν ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ ἰδοὺ βλέπω
θηρίον μέγιστον ὥσεί κητός τι,⁹⁸ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος
αὐτοῦ ἀκρίδες πύριναι ἐξεπορεύοντο. ἦν δὲ τὸ θηρίον
τῷ μήκει ὥσεί ποδῶν ρ', τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν εἶχεν ὥσεί⁹⁹
κεράμου.¹⁰⁰ 7. καὶ ἡρξάμην κλαίειν¹⁰¹ καὶ ἐρωτᾶν τὸν
κύριον ἵνα με λυτρώσῃται ἐξ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐπανεμ-
νήσθην τοῦ ῥήματος οὗ ἀκηκόειν· μὴ διψυχῆσαι,
Ἑρμᾶ. 8. ἐνδυσάμενος οὖν, ἀδελφοί, τὴν πίστιν τοῦ
κυρίου¹⁰² καὶ μνησθεὶς ὧν ἐδίδαξέν με μεγαλείων,
θαρσήσας εἰς τὸ θηρίον ἐμαυτὸν ἔδωκα. οὕτω δὲ
ἤρχετο τὸ θηρίον ροίζῳ, ὥστε δύνασθαι αὐτὸ πόλιν
λυμᾶναι. 9. ἔρχομαι ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ τηλικούτο
κῆτος ἐκτείνει ἑαυτὸ χαμαὶ καὶ οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ τὴν γλῶσ-
σαν προέβαλλεν, καὶ ὅλως οὐκ ἐκινήθη μέχρις ὅτε
παρῆλθον αὐτό. 10. εἶχεν δὲ τὸ θηρίον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφα-
λῆς χρώματα τέσσερα· μέλαν, εἶτα πυροειδὲς καὶ
αἱματῶδες, εἶτα χρυσοῦν, εἶτα λευκόν.

23 (IV.2)

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παρελθεῖν με τὸ θηρίον καὶ προελθεῖν
ὥσεί πόδας λ', ἰδοὺ ὑπαντᾷ μοι παρθένος κεκοσμη-
μένη ὡς ἐκ νυμφῶνος ἐκπορευομένη, ὅλη ἐν λευκοῖς

his glorious deeds?" 5. I passed on a bit, brothers, and suddenly saw a cloud of dust, reaching up to the sky. And I began saying to myself, "Is that a herd of cattle coming, raising the dust?" But it was still about two hundred yards away from me. 6. And as the dust cloud grew larger and larger, I realized that it was something supernatural. The sun began to shine a bit and suddenly I saw an enormous wild beast, something like a sea monster, with fiery locusts spewing from its mouth. The beast was nearly a hundred feet long, and its head looked like a ceramic jar. 7. And I began to weep and ask the Lord to save me from it. Then I remembered the word I had heard: "Do not be of two minds, Hermas." 8. And so, putting on the faith of the Lord, brothers, and remembering the great things he had taught me, I courageously gave myself over to the beast. And so it came on with a roar, enough to lay waste a city. 9. But when I approached it, the enormous sea monster stretched itself out on the ground and did nothing but stick out its tongue; otherwise it did not move at all until I had passed it by. 10. And the beast had four colors on its head: black, fire- and blood-red, gold, and white.

23 (IV.2)

After I passed by the beast and went about thirty feet ahead, a young woman suddenly met me, clothed as if coming from a bridal chamber, dressed all in white and

⁹⁸ τι S L²: om. A L¹ E ⁹⁹ ὥσπερ S^c A: ὥς S
¹⁰⁰ καιραμον S: -ιον S^c: κεράμιον A: *vas urnale* L¹: *laguenam*
L²: *lagenam* E ¹⁰¹ κλαίειν S^c A L L E: κλῖναι τὰ γόνατα S
¹⁰² κυρίου S L² E: θεοῦ A L¹

καὶ ὑποδήμασιν λευκοῖς, κατακεκαλυμμένη ἕως τοῦ μετώπου, ἐν μίτρᾳ δὲ ἦν ἡ κατακάλυψις αὐτῆς· εἶχεν δὲ τὰς τρίχας αὐτῆς λευκάς. 2. ἔγνω ἡ ἐγὼ ἐκ τῶν προτέρων ὁραμάτων ὅτι ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐστίν, καὶ ἰλαρώτερος ἐγενόμην. ἀσπάζεται με λέγουσα· χαῖρε σύ, ἄνθρωπε· καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὴν ἀντησπασάμην· κυρία, χαῖρε· 3. ἀποκριθεῖσά μοι λέγει· οὐδέν σοι ἀπήντησεν; λέγω αὐτῇ· κυρία, τηλικούτο θηρίον, δυνάμενον λαοὺς διαφθεῖραι· ἀλλὰ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῇ πολυσπλαγχνίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐξέφυγον αὐτό. 4. καλῶς ἐξέφυγες, φησὶν, ὅτι τὴν μέριμνάν σου ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπέριψας καὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἤνοιξας πρὸς τὸν κύριον, πιστεύσας ὅτι δι' οὐδενὸς δύνῃ σωθῆναι εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου¹⁰³ καὶ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ κύριος¹⁰⁴ ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν θηρίων ὄντα, οὗ τὸ ὄνομά ἐστιν Θεγρί,¹⁰⁵ καὶ ἐνέφραξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ σε λυμάνῃ. μεγάλην θλίψιν ἐκπέφευγας διὰ τὴν πίστιν σου, καὶ ὅτι τηλικούτο θηρίον ἰδὼν οὐκ ἐδιψύχσας· 5. ὕπαγε οὖν καὶ ἐξήγησαι τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ κυρίου τὰ μεγαλεία αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπε αὐτοῖς ὅτι τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο τύπος ἐστὶν θλίψεως τῆς μελλούσης τῆς μεγάλης· ἐὰν οὖν προετοιμάσησθε καὶ μετανοήσητε ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν κύριον, δυνήσεσθε ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτήν, ἐὰν ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν γένηται καθαρὰ καὶ ἄμωμος, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τῆς ζωῆς ἡμέρας ὑμῶν δουλεύσητε τῷ κυρίῳ ἀμέμπτως. ἐπιρίψατε τὰς μερίμνας¹⁰⁶ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον, καὶ αὐτὸς κατορθώσει αὐτάς. 6. πιστεύσατε τῷ

with white sandals, veiled down to her forehead. Her veil was a headband and her hair was white. 2. From my earlier visions I knew that she was the church, and I became cheerful. She welcomed me, "Greetings, my man." And I welcomed her in return, "Greetings, Lady." 3. She said to me, "Did anything meet you?" I responded, "An enormous wild beast, Lady, able to destroy entire peoples. But by the power of the Lord and his great compassion, I escaped it." 4. "You escaped well," she said, "because you cast your anxiety upon God and opened your heart to the Lord, believing that you could not be saved except through his great and glorious name. For this reason the Lord sent his angel, named Thegri, who is in charge of the wild beasts; and he shut the beast's mouth, so that it could not harm you. You have escaped a great affliction because of your faith, and because you were not of two minds even though you saw such an enormous wild beast. 5. And so, go and explain the great acts of the Lord to his chosen ones, and tell them that this wild beast is a foreshadowing of the great affliction that is coming. If then all of you prepare and repent before the Lord from your whole heart, you will be able to escape it—if your heart becomes clean and blameless and you serve the Lord blamelessly the rest of your days. Cast your anxieties upon the Lord and he will take care of them. 6. Trust in the Lord, you who are of two

¹⁰³ *μεγάλου* A L L E: *ἀγίου ἀγγέλου* S

¹⁰⁴ *ὁ κύριος* A L L E: om. S

¹⁰⁵ *θεγρί* A: *θεγει* S: *θεγρει* S^{ac}: *Tegri* L²: *Tegeri* E: *Hegrin* L¹

¹⁰⁶ *μερίμνας* S L L E: *καρδίας* A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

κυρίῳ, οἱ δῖψυχοι, ὅτι πάντα δύναται καὶ ἀποστρέφει τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ ἀφ' ὑμῶν καὶ ἐξαποστέλλει μάστιγας ὑμῖν τοῖς διψύχοις. οὐαὶ τοῖς ἀκούσασιν τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα καὶ παρακούσασιν· αἰρετώτερον ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ γεννηθῆναι.

24 (IV.3)

Ἐρώτησα αὐτὴν περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων χρωμάτων ὧν εἶχεν τὸ θηρίον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν. ἡ δὲ ἀποκριθεῖσά μοι λέγει· πάλιν περιέργος εἶ περὶ τοιούτων πραγμάτων. ναί, φημί, κυρία· γνώρισόν μοι τί ἐστὶν ταῦτα. 2. ἄκουε, φησὶν· τὸ μὲν μέλαν οὗτος ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖτε· 3. τὸ δὲ πυροειδὲς καὶ αἱματῶδες, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δι' αἵματος καὶ πυρὸς ἀπολυσθαι· 4. τὸ δὲ χρυσοῦν μέρος ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ ἐκφυγόντες τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ χρυσίον δοκιμάζεται διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ εὐχρηστον γίνεται, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς δοκιμάζεσθε οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν μέιναντες καὶ πυρωθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν¹⁰⁷ καθαρισθήσεσθε. ὥσπερ τὸ χρυσίον ἀποβάλλει τὴν σκωρίαν αὐτοῦ, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποβαλεῖτε πᾶσαν λύπην καὶ στενοχωρίαν, καὶ καθαρισθήσεσθε καὶ χρήσιμοι ἔσεσθε εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. 5. τὸ δὲ λευκὸν μέρος ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐπερχόμενός ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ κατοικήσουσιν οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ.¹⁰⁸ ὅτι ἄσπιλοι καὶ καθαροὶ ἔσονται οἱ ἐκλελεγμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. 6. σὺ οὖν μὴ διαλίπῃς¹⁰⁹ λαλῶν εἰς τὰ

minds, because he can do all things; he both diverts his anger from you and sends punishments to you who are doubleminded. Woe to those who hear these words and disobey. It would be better for them not to have been born."

24 (IV.3)

I then asked her about the four colors the beast had on its head. And she answered me, "Once again you are being overly inquisitive about these matters." "Yes Lady," I said, "explain these things to me." 2. "Listen," she said. "The black is this world, in which all of you live. 3. The fire-and blood-red shows that this world must be destroyed through blood and fire. 4. But you who escape this world are the part that is gold. For just as gold is tested through fire and thus becomes useful, so also you who dwell among them³ are put to the test. Those who endure and are burned by them will be made pure. For just as gold casts off its dross, so also you will cast off every grief and tribulation, and be cleansed and made useful for the building of the tower. 5. But the part that is white is the age that is coming, in which the chosen ones of God will dwell. For those who have been chosen by God for eternal life will be spotless and pure. 6. And so, do not stop speaking in the

³ I.e., either among the inhabitants of the world, or among the fire and the blood.

107 αὐτῶν S L¹: αὐτοῦ A E (L²)

108 θεοῦ S L L E: κυρίου A

109 διαλίπης S L L E: add ταῦτα A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ὦτα τῶν ἀγίων. ἔχετε καὶ τὸν¹¹⁰ τύπον τῆς θλίψεως τῆς ἐρχομένης μεγάλης. ἐὰν δὲ ὑμεῖς θελήσητε, οὐδὲν ἔσται. μνημονεύετε τὰ προγεγραμμένα. 7. ταῦτα εἵ-
 πασα ἀπῆλθεν καὶ οὐκ εἶδον ποίῳ τόπῳ ἀπῆλθεν·
 ψόφος¹¹¹ γὰρ ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπεστράφην εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω
 φοβηθείς, δοκῶν ὅτι τὸ θηρίον ἔρχεται.

Ὅρασις ε' ¹¹²

25 (V)

Προσευξαμένου¹¹³ μου ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καὶ καθίσαντος εἰς
 τὴν κλίνην εἰσηλθεν ἀνὴρ τις ἔνδοξος τῇ ὄψει, σχή-
 ματι ποιμενικῷ, περικείμενος δέρμα αἷγειον¹¹⁴ λευκόν,
 καὶ πήραν ἔχων ἐπὶ τὸν ὦμον καὶ ῥάβδον εἰς τὴν
 χεῖρα. καὶ ἡσπάσατό με, καὶ γὰρ ἀντησπασάμην αὐτόν.
 2. καὶ εὐθὺς παρεκάθισέν μοι καὶ λέγει μοι· ἀπ-
 εστάλην ἀπὸ τοῦ σεμνοτάτου ἀγγέλου, ἵνα μετὰ σοῦ
 οἰκήσω τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου. 3. ἔδοξα
 ἐγὼ ὅτι πάρεστιν ἐκπειράζων με, καὶ λέγω αὐτῷ· σὺ
 γὰρ τίς εἶ; ἐγὼ γάρ, φημί, γινώσκω ᾧ παρεδόθην.
 λέγει μοι· οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκεις με; οὐ, φημί. ἐγώ, φησίν,
 εἰμὶ ὁ ποιμὴν ᾧ παρεδόθης. 4. ἔτι λαλοῦντος αὐτοῦ
 ἡλλοιώθη ἡ ἰδέα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπέγνων αὐτόν, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος
 ἦν, ᾧ παρεδόθην, καὶ εὐθὺς συνεχύθην, καὶ φόβος με
 ἔλαβεν, καὶ ὅλος συνεκόπην ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης, ὅτι οὕτως
 αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίθην πονηρῶς καὶ ἀφρόνως. 5. ὁ δὲ ἀπο-

¹¹⁰ καὶ τὸν A L L: om. S (E)

ears of the saints. You now have the foreshadowing of the great affliction that is coming. But if you wish, it will come to nothing. Remember the things written before.” 7. When she said these things she departed; but I did not see where she went. For there was a noise, and I turned around out of fear, thinking that the beast was coming.

Vision Five

25 (V)

After I prayed in my house, sitting on my bed, an eminent looking man came to me, dressed in shepherd’s clothing—wrapped with a white goat skin around his waist, with a bag on his shoulder and a staff in his hand. He greeted me, and I greeted him in return. 2. He immediately sat next to me and said, “I have been sent from the most reverend angel to live with you for the rest of your life.” 3. I thought he had come to put me to the test, and I said to him, “Who are you? For I know the one to whom I have been entrusted.” He said to me, “Do you not recognize me?” “No,” I replied. He said, “I am the shepherd to whom you have been entrusted.” 4. While he was speaking his appearance changed, and I recognized him, since he was in fact the one to whom I had been entrusted. And I was suddenly thrown into confusion, seized with fear, and entirely broken up by grief, because I had given him such a wicked and foolish

111 ψόφος A L¹ E: νέφος S L² 112 ὄρασις εἶ A E L¹
 (add *initium pastoris*): ἀποκάλυψις εἶ S: *incipiunt pastoris man-*
data duodecim L² 113 προσευξαμένου S L L: προσευχο-
 μένου A E 114 αἴγειον A E: om. S L L

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

κριθείς μοι λέγει· μὴ συνχύνου,¹¹⁵ ἀλλὰ ἰσχυροποιοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς μου, αἷς σοι μέλλω ἐντέλλεσθαι. ἀπεστάλην γάρ, φησὶν, ἵνα ἃ εἶδες πρότερον πάντα σοι πάλιν δείξω, αὐτὰ τὰ κεφάλαια τὰ ὄντα ὑμῖν σύμφορα. πρῶτον πάντων τὰς ἐντολάς μου γράψον καὶ τὰς παραβολάς· τὰ δὲ ἕτερα καθὼς σοι δείξω οὕτως γράψεις· διὰ τοῦτο, φησὶν, ἐντέλλομαί σοι πρῶτον γράψαι τὰς ἐντολὰς καὶ παραβολάς, ἵνα ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἀναγινώσκῃς αὐτάς καὶ δυνηθῇς φυλάξαι αὐτάς. 6. ἔγραψα οὖν τὰς ἐντολὰς καὶ παραβολάς, καθὼς ἐνετείλατό μοι. 7. ἐὰν οὖν ἀκούσαντες αὐτὰς¹¹⁶ φυλάξῃτε καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς πορευθῇτε καὶ ἐργάσησθε αὐτάς ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ἀπολήμψεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ὅσα ἐπηγγείλατο ὑμῖν· ἐὰν δὲ ἀκούσαντες μὴ μετανοήσῃτε, ἀλλ' ἔτι προσθῇτε ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν, ἀπολήμψεσθε παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τὰ ἐναντία. ταῦτά μοι πάντα οὕτως γράψαι ὁ ποιμὴν ἐνετείλατο, ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας.

Ἐντολὴ α'

26 (I)

Πρῶτον πάντων πιστευσον ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ¹ θεός, ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ καταρτίσας καὶ ποιήσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα, καὶ πάντα χωρῶν, μόνος δὲ ἀχώρητος ὢν.² 2. πιστευσον οὖν αὐτῷ³ καὶ φοβή-

¹¹⁵ συνχύνου S L L E: αἰσχύνου A

response. 5. But he said to me, "Do not be confused, but become strong in my commandments, which I am about to give you. For I was sent," he said, "to show you yet again all the things that you saw before, since these are what will chiefly benefit you. First, however, write my commandments and parables; but write the other things just as I show them to you. This is why," he said, "I am commanding you first to write the commandments and parables—that you may read them regularly and so be able to keep them." 6. And so I wrote the commandments and parables, just as he commanded me. 7. If then, after you hear them, you keep them and walk in them and accomplish them with a pure heart, you will receive from the Lord everything he promised you. But if you do not repent once you have heard them, but increase your sins still further, you will receive the opposite from the Lord. The shepherd, the angel of repentance, thus commanded me to write all these things.

First Commandment

26 (I)

"First of all, believe that God is one, who created and completed all things, and made everything that exists out of that which did not, who contains all things but is himself, alone, uncontained. 2. And so believe in him and fear him,

¹¹⁶ αὐτὰς S L L: μου A

¹ ὁ S: om. A ² ἀχώρητος ὢν S A E: add *qui nec verbo (verbis L²) definiri nec mente concipi potest* L L (ἀκατονόμαστος καὶ ἀκατάληπτος?)

³ πίστευσον οὖν αὐτῷ S L L E: om. A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

θητι αὐτόν, φοβηθεῖς δὲ ἐνκράτευσαι. ταῦτα φύλασσε⁴ καὶ ἀποβαλεῖς πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ καὶ ἐνδύσῃ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν δικαιοσύνης, καὶ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ, ἐὰν φυλάξῃς τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην.

Ἐντολὴ β'

27 (II)

Λέγει μοι· ἀπλότητα ἔχε καὶ ἄκακος γίνου καὶ ἔσῃ ὡς τὰ νήπια τὰ μὴ γινώσκοντα τὴν πονηρίαν τὴν ἀπολλύουσαν τὴν ζωὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. 2. πρῶτον μὲν μηδενὸς καταλάλει, μηδὲ ἡδέως⁵ ἄκουε καταλαλοῦντος· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ σὺ ὁ ἀκούων ἔνοχος ἔσῃ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ καταλαλοῦντος, ἐὰν πιστεύσῃς τῇ καταλαλίᾳ ἣ ἂν ἀκούσῃς· πιστεύσας γὰρ καὶ σὺ αὐτὸς ἔξεις κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου. οὕτως οὖν ἔνοχος ἔσῃ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ καταλαλοῦντος. 3. πονηρὰ ἡ καταλαλία· ἀκατάστατον δαιμόνιον ἐστίν, μηδέποτε εἰρηνεύον, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ἐν διχοστασίαις κατοικοῦν. ἀπέχου οὖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐθηνίαν πάντοτε ἔξεις μετὰ πάντων. 4. ἔνδυσαι δὲ τὴν σεμνότητα, ἐν ἣ οὐδὲν πρόσκομμά ἐστίν πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμαλὰ καὶ ἱλαρά. ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου, ὧν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσίν σοι, πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις δίδου ἀπλῶς, μὴ διστάζων τίνι δῶς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῶς. πᾶσιν δίδου· πᾶσιν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δίδοσθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρημάτων. 5. οἱ οὖν λαμβάνοντες ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον τῷ θεῷ, διατί ἔλαβον καὶ εἰς τί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες

and in your fear be self-restrained. Guard these matters and you will cast all wickedness from yourselves and clothe yourselves with every righteous virtue, and you will live to God—if you guard this commandment.”

Second Commandment

27 (II)

He said to me, “Hold on to simplicity and be innocent, and you will be like young children who do not know the wickedness that destroys human life. 2. First, of all, do not slander anyone. Nor listen gladly to anyone else who slanders. Otherwise, you the hearer will share the sin of the slanderer—if you believe the slander you hear. For when you believe it you also will hold something against your brother. And so you will share the sin of the one who slanders. 3. Slander is evil, a restless demon, never at peace but always living in dissension. And so, abstain from it and you will always be in good standing with all. 4. Clothe yourself with reverence, in which there is no wicked stumbling block, but everything is smooth and cheerful. Do what is good, and take what you have earned through the toils God has given you and give simply to those in need, not wavering about to whom you should give something and to whom not. Give to everyone. For God wishes everyone to be given something from his own gifts. 5. And so, those who receive something will render an account to God, about why they received something and to what end. For

⁴ φοβηθεῖς . . . φύλασσε S L L E: om. A

⁵ μηδὲ ἡδέως S L L E: μηδὲν μηδενὸς A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

θλιβόμενοι οὐ δικασθήσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνοντες τίσουσιν δίκην. 6. ὁ οὖν διδοὺς ἀθῶός ἐστιν· ὡς γὰρ ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τὴν διακονίαν τελέσαι, ἀπλῶς αὐτὴν⁶ ἐτέλεσεν μὴθὲν διακρίνων τίνι δῶ ἢ μὴ δῶ.⁷ ἐγένετο οὖν ἡ διακονία αὕτη ἀπλῶς τελεσθεῖσα ἔνδοξος παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. ὁ οὖν οὕτως ἀπλῶς διακονῶν τῷ θεῷ ζήσεται. 7. φύλασσε οὖν τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην, ὥς σοι λελάληκα,⁸ ἵνα ἡ μετάνοιά σου καὶ ἡ τοῦ οἴκου σου ἐν ἀπλότητι εὑρεθῇ καὶ καθαρά καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἀμίαντος.⁹

Ἐντολὴ γ'

28 (III)

Πάλιν μοι λέγει· Ἀλήθειαν ἀγάπα, καὶ πᾶσα ἀλήθεια ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου ἐκπορευέσθω, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα, ὃ ὁ θεὸς κατώκισεν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ταύτῃ, ἀληθὲς εὑρεθῇ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ οὕτως δοξασθήσεται ὁ κύριος ὃ ἐν σοὶ κατοικῶν· ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἀληθινὸς ἐν παντὶ ῥήματι, καὶ οὐδὲν παρ' αὐτῷ ψεῦδος. 2. οἱ οὖν ψευδόμενοι ἀθετοῦσι τὸν κύριον καὶ γίνονται ἀποστερηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου, μὴ παραδιδόντες αὐτῷ τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἣν ἔλαβον. ἔλαβον γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἄψευστον. τοῦτο ἐὰν ψευδὲς ἀποδώσωσιν,

⁶ τελέσαι . . . αὐτὴν S L L E: om. A

⁷ τίνι . . . μὴ δῶ S L¹ (E) (PM) : τί δῶ A: om. L² δῶ . . .
δῶ S A L L E: δωσιν . . . δωσιν PM

those who received because of hardship will not face condemnation; but those who received out of hypocrisy will pay a penalty. 6. And so the one who gives is innocent. For as he was given a ministry from the Lord to complete, he has completed it in a simple way, having no doubts about to whom he should give or not give something. This ministry that is completed in a simple way becomes glorious before God, so that the one who ministers thus, in a simple way, will live to God. 7. And so guard this commandment as I have spoken it to you, that your repentance and that of your household may be found to be in simplicity—and pure, innocent, and blameless.”

Third Commandment

28 (III)

Then he spoke to me again, “Love the truth and let all truth come from your mouth, so that the spirit that God made to live in this flesh may be recognized as true by everyone; in this way the Lord who dwells in you will be glorified. For the Lord is true in his every word, and there is no lie in him. 2. And so, those who lie reject the Lord and defraud him, not handing over to him the deposit they received. For they received from him a spirit that does not lie; if they return it to him as a liar, they defile the com-

⁸ ὥς . . . λελάληκα S A L L E: ην σοι εδωκα PM

⁹ καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἀμίαντος PM (E): καὶ ἀκ . . . (ἀκακία Lake) καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος A: in S either καθαρὰ or ἄκακος is omitted (Milne-Skeat): *et cor mundum habe* L¹: *et cor tuum sit mundum et indeficiens apud deum* L², whence καὶ ἡ καρδιά σου καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος Hilgenfeld

ἐμίαναν τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐγένοντο ἀποστερηταί. 3. ταῦτα οὖν ἀκούσας ἐγὼ ἔκλαυσα λίαν. ἰδὼν δέ με κλαίοντα λέγει· τί κλαίεις; ὅτι, φημί, κύριε, οὐκ οἶδα εἰ δύναμαι σωθῆναι. διατί; φησὶν. οὐδέπω γάρ, φημί, κύριε, ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ζωῇ ἀληθὲς ἐλάλησα ῥῆμα, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε πανούργως ἔζησα¹⁰ μετὰ πάντων, καὶ τὸ ψεῦδός μου ἀληθὲς ἐπέδειξα παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις· καὶ οὐδέποτε μοι οὐδεὶς ἀντεῖπεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστεύθη τῷ λόγῳ μου. πῶς οὖν, φημί, κύριε, δύναμαι ζῆσαι ταῦτα πράξας; 4. σὺ μὲν, φησί, καλῶς καὶ ἀληθῶς φρονεῖς· ἔδει γάρ σε ὡς θεοῦ δοῦλον ἐν ἀληθείᾳ πορεύεσθαι καὶ πονηρὰν συνείδησιν μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ἀληθείας μὴ κατοικεῖν, μηδὲ λύπην ἐπάγειν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ σεμνῷ καὶ ἀληθεῖ. οὐδέποτε, φημί, κύριε, τοιαῦτα ῥήματα ἀκριβῶς ἤκουσα. 5. νῦν οὖν, φησὶν, ἀκούεις· φύλασσε αὐτά, ἵνα καὶ τὰ πρότερα ἃ ἐλάλησας ψευδῇ ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις σου, τούτων εὐρεθέντων ἀληθινῶν, κακέῖνα πιστὰ γένηται· δύναται γὰρ κακέῖνα πιστὰ γενέσθαι. ἐὰν ταῦτα φυλάξης καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν πᾶσαν ἀλήθειαν λαλήσης, δυνήσῃ σεαυτῷ ζωὴν περιποιήσασθαι. καὶ ὃς ἂν ἀκούσῃ τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀφέξεται τοῦ πονηροτάτου ψεύσματος,¹¹ ζήσεται τῷ θεῷ.

¹⁰ ἔζησα L L E: ἐλάλησα A: [lacuna S]

¹¹ ψεύσματος S L L E: πνεύματος A

mandment of the Lord and become defrauders.” 3. When I heard these things, I wept bitterly. When he saw me weeping he asked, “Why are you weeping?” “Because, Lord,” I said, “I do not know if I can be saved.” “Why?” he asked. “Because, Lord” I said, “I have never in my entire life spoken a true word, but have always lived craftily with everyone, and have portrayed my lie as truth to all. And no one has ever contradicted me, but has trusted my word. How then, Lord,” I asked, “can I live, having done such things?” 4. “Your thoughts are good and true,” he said. “For you should have been conducting yourself as a slave of God; and a wicked conscience should not have dwelt with the spirit of truth or brought grief to the reverend and true spirit.” “Never,” I replied, “have I heard such words so accurately.” 5. “You are hearing them now,” he said. “Guard these matters so that the lies you spoke before in your daily life [*Or: business affairs*] may themselves become trustworthy when these other words are found to be true. For even those other ones can become trustworthy. If you guard these matters and from now on speak only the truth, you will be able to give yourself life. And whoever hears this commandment and avoids lying most wickedly will live to God.”

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

Ἐντολὴ δ΄

29 (IV.1)

Ἐντέλλομαί σοι, φησίν, φυλάσσειν τὴν ἀγνείαν, καὶ μὴ ἀναβαινέτω σου ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἀλλοτρίας ἢ περὶ πορνείας¹² τινος ἢ περὶ τοιούτων τινῶν ὁμοιωμάτων πονηρῶν. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν μεγάλην ἁμαρτίαν ἐργάζῃ. τῆς δὲ σῆς μνημονεύων πάντοτε γυναικὸς οὐδέποτε διαμαρτήσεις. 2. ἐὰν γὰρ αὕτη ἢ ἐνθύμησις ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, διαμαρτήσεις, καὶ ἐὰν ἕτερα οὕτως πονηρά,¹³ ἁμαρτίαν¹⁴ ἐργάζῃ. ἢ γὰρ ἐνθύμησις αὕτη θεοῦ δούλῳ ἁμαρτία μεγάλη ἐστίν· ἐὰν δέ τις ἐργάσῃται τὸ ἔργον τὸ πονηρὸν τοῦτο, θάνατον ἑαυτῷ κατεργάζεται. 3. βλέπε οὖν σύ· ἀπέχου ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως ταύτης· ὅπου γὰρ σεμνότης κατοικεῖ, ἐκεῖ ἀνομία οὐκ ὀφείλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνδρὸς δικαίου. 4. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ὀλίγα ἐπερωτήσαί σε. λέγε, φησίν. κύριε, φημί, εἰ γυναῖκα ἔχῃ τις πιστὴν ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ ταύτην εὖρη ἐν μοιχείᾳ τινί, ἄρα ἁμαρτάνει ὁ ἀνὴρ συνζῶν μετ' αὐτῆς; 5. ἄχρι τῆς ἀγνοίας, φησίν, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει· ἐὰν δὲ γνοί ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν αὐτῆς, καὶ μὴ μετανοήσῃ ἢ γυνή, ἀλλ' ἐπίμένῃ τῇ πορνείᾳ¹⁵ αὐτῆς, καὶ συνζῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ μετ' αὐτῆς, ἔνοχος γίνεται τῆς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῆς καὶ κοινωνὸς τῆς μοιχείας αὐτῆς. 6. τί οὖν, φημί, κύριε, ποιήσῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐὰν ἐπιμείνῃ τῷ

Fourth Commandment

29 (IV.1)

“I command you,” he said, “to guard your holiness, and do not allow any thought to rise up in your heart about someone else’s wife, or sexual immorality, or any other similarly wicked things. Otherwise you commit a great sin. But if you always keep thinking about your own wife, you will never sin. 2. For if this notion should rise up in your heart you will sin, and if another such wicked idea should arise, you commit a sin. For this notion is a great sin for the slave of God. And anyone who does such an evil deed brings death upon himself. 3. So be on the alert and avoid this notion. For where reverence dwells, lawlessness should not rise up in the heart of an upright man.” 4. I said to him, “Lord, allow me to ask you a few questions.” “Go ahead,” he replied. “Lord,” I said, “if someone is married to a woman who believes in the Lord, but he discovers that she is having an adulterous relationship, does the man then sin if he continues to live with her?” 5. “As long as he is ignorant of the affair,” he replied, “he does not sin. But if the husband knows about her sin, and the wife does not repent, but remains in her sexual immorality, and the husband continues to live with her, he becomes guilty of her sin and a partner in her immorality.” 6. “What then should the husband do, Lord,” I said, “if the wife continues in her

¹² πορνείας S^c L L E: πονηρίας S A

¹³ ἕτερα οὕτως πονηρά S L L E: ἑτέραν οὕτως πονηράν S^c:
ἑτέρως ὡσαύτως πονηρὰν ἐνθυμήσῃ A

¹⁴ ἁμαρτίαν S L L E: πονηρὰ A

¹⁵ πορνεία S L¹ E: ἁμαρτία A: nequitia (= πονηρία) L²

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

πάθει τούτῳ ἡ γυνή; ἀπολυσάτω, φησίν, αὐτήν, καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μενέτω· ἐὰν δὲ ἀπολύσας τὴν γυναῖκα ἐτέραν γαμήσῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς μοιχᾶται. 7. ἐὰν οὖν, φημί, κύριε, μετὰ τὸ ἀπολυθῆναι τὴν γυναῖκα μετανοήσῃ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ θελήσῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα ὑποστρέψαι, οὐ παραδεχθήσεται; 8. καὶ μὴν, φησίν, ἐὰν μὴ παραδέξῃται αὐτήν ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἀμαρτάνει καὶ μεγάλην ἀμαρτίαν ἑαυτῷ ἐπισπᾶται, ἀλλὰ δεῖ παραδεχθῆναι τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα καὶ μετανοοῦντα· μὴ ἐπὶ πολλὴν δέ· τοῖς γὰρ δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ μετάνοιά ἐστίν μία. διὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν οὖν οὐκ ὀφείλει γαμεῖν ὁ ἀνὴρ. αὕτη ἡ πράξις ἐπὶ γυναικὶ καὶ ἀνδρὶ κείται. 9. οὐ μόνον, φησίν, μοιχεία ἐστίν, ἐάν τις τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ μιάνῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς ἂν τὰ ὁμοιώματα ποιῇ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, μοιχᾶται. ὥστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐὰν ἐμμένῃ τις καὶ μὴ μετανοῇ, ἀπέχου ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ συνζήθῃ αὐτῷ· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ σὺ μέτοχος εἶ τῆς ἀμαρτίας αὐτοῦ. 10. διὰ τοῦτο προσετάγη ὑμῖν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς μένειν, εἴτε ἀνὴρ εἴτε γυνή· δύναται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις μετάνοια εἶναι. 11. ἐγὼ οὖν, φησίν,¹⁶ οὐ δίδωμι ἀφορμὴν ἵνα αὕτη ἡ πράξις οὕτως συντελῇται, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ μηκέτι ἀμαρτάνειν τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα. περὶ δὲ τῆς προτέρας ἀμαρτίας αὐτοῦ ἔστιν ὁ δυνάμενος ἵασιν δοῦναι· αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἔχων πάντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν.

¹⁶ φησίν S^c A L: φημί S: om. L¹ (E)

passion?" "He should divorce her," he replied, "and live alone. But if he marries someone else after the divorce, he also commits adultery." 7. "But, Lord," I said, "if after the wife is divorced she repents and wants to return to her husband, should she not be taken back?" 8. "Yes indeed," he replied. "If her husband does not take her back, he sins, and drags a great sin upon himself; for the one who sins and repents must be accepted back. But not many times. For there is but one repentance given to the slaves of God. Because of repentance, therefore, the husband ought not to marry. The same applies to both wife and husband. 9. Not only is it adultery," he continued, "if a person defiles his flesh; but also, whoever behaves like the outsiders commits adultery. And so, if anyone continues doing such deeds and does not repent, you should avoid him and not allow him to live in your midst. Otherwise you also share in his sin. 10. This is why you have been ordered to remain by yourselves, whether a husband or wife; for repentance is possible in such cases. 11. And so," he said, "I am not giving an occasion for things to turn out this way; I am saying that the sinner should sin no more. But with respect to his former sin, there is one who can provide healing. For he has the authority over all things."

Ἐρώτησα αὐτὸν πάλιν λέγων· ἐπεὶ ὁ κύριος ἄξιόν με ἡγήσατο ἵνα μετ' ἐμοῦ πάντοτε κατοικῆς, ὀλίγα μου ῥήματα ἔτι ἀνάσχου, ἐπεὶ οὐ συνίω οὐδέν, καὶ ἡ καρδία μου πεπώρωται ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων μου πράξεων· συνέτισόν με, ὅτι λίαν ἄφρων εἰμὶ καὶ ὅλως οὐθὲν νοῶ. 2. ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· ἐγώ, φησὶν, ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας εἰμὶ καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς μετανοοῦσιν σύνεσιν δίδωμι. ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι, φησὶν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ μετανοῆσαι σύνεσιν εἶναι; τὸ μετανοῆσαι, φησὶν, σύνεσις ἐστὶν μεγάλη.¹⁷ συνίει γὰρ ὁ ἁμαρτήσας ὅτι πεποίηκεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἡ πρᾶξις ἣν ἔπραξεν, καὶ μετανοεῖ καὶ οὐκέτι ἐργάζεται τὸ πονηρὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀγαθὸν πολυτελῶς ἐργάζεται, καὶ ταπεινοῖ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν καὶ βασανίζει, ὅτι ἥμαρτεν. βλέπεις οὖν ὅτι ἡ μετάνοια σύνεσις ἐστὶν μεγάλη. 3. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, φημί, κύριε, ἐξακριβάζομαι παρὰ σοῦ πάντα· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἁμαρτωλός εἰμι, ἵνα γνῶ ποῖα ἔργα ἐργαζόμενος ζήσομαι, ὅτι πολλαὶ μού εἰσιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι καὶ ποικίλαι. 4. ζήσῃ, φησὶν, εἰάν τὰς ἐντολάς μου φυλάξης καὶ πορευθῇς ἐν αὐταῖς· καὶ ὃς ἂν ἀκούσας τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας φυλάξῃ, ζήσεται τῷ θεῷ.

¹⁷ τὸ . . . μεγάλη S L L E: om. A

30 (IV.2)

I asked him again, "Since the Lord has considered me worthy to have you live with me always, bear with me for a few more words, since I understand nothing and my heart has been hardened because of my former actions. Give me insight, for I am extremely senseless and comprehend nothing at all." 2. He answered me, "I am in charge of repentance and give understanding to all those who repent. Or do you not realize," he said, "that repentance is itself a form of understanding? Repentance," he said, "is indeed a great understanding. For the one who sins understands that he has done something evil before the Lord, and what he has done rises up in his heart; then he repents and no longer does what is evil, but lavishly does what is good; and he humbles and torments himself, because he has sinned. So you see that repentance is a great understanding." 3. I replied, "This, Lord, is why I am carefully inquiring about everything from you—chiefly because I am a sinner, and I need to know what sorts of things I must do to live; for my sins are many and various." 4. "You will live," he said, "if you guard my commandments and proceed in them. Whoever guards these commandments, once he has heard them, will live to God."

Ἔτι, φημί, κύριε, προσθήσω τοῦ ἐπερωτῆσαι. λέγε, φησίν. ἤκουσα, φημί, κύριε, παρά τινων διδασκάλων, ὅτι ἑτέρα μετάνοια οὐκ ἔστιν εἰ μὴ ἐκείνη, ὅτε εἰς ὕδωρ κατέβημεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν τῶν προτέρων.¹⁸ 2. λέγει μοι· καλῶς ἤκουσας· οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει. ἔδει γὰρ τὸν εἰληφότα ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν μηκέτι ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγνείᾳ κατοικεῖν. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα ἐξακριβάζῃ, καὶ τοῦτό σοι δηλώσω, μὴ διδοὺς ἀφορμὴν τοῖς μέλλουσι πιστεύειν ἢ τοῖς νῦν πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸν κύριον. οἱ γὰρ νῦν πιστεύσαντες ἢ μέλλοντες πιστεύειν μετάνοιαν ἁμαρτιῶν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἄφεσιν δὲ ἔχουσι τῶν προτέρων ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. 4. τοῖς οὖν κληθεῖσι πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἔθηκεν ὁ κύριος μετάνοιαν. καρδιογνώστης γὰρ ὢν ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντα προγινώσκων ἔγνω τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὴν πολυπλοκίαν τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι ποιήσῃ τι κακὸν τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πονηρεύσεται εἰς αὐτούς. 5. πολὺσπλαγχνος οὖν ὢν ὁ κύριος ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπὶ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔθηκεν τὴν μετάνοιαν ταύτην, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τῆς μετανοίας ταύτης ἐδόθη. 6. ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ σοι λέγω, φησί· μετὰ τὴν κλῆσιν ἐκείνην τὴν μεγάλην καὶ σεμνὴν εἰάν τις ἐκπειρασθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἁμαρτήσῃ, μίαν μετάνοιαν ἔχει· εἰάν δὲ ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἁμαρτάνῃ καὶ¹⁹ μετανοήσῃ, ἀσύμφορόν ἐστι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τοιούτῳ· δυσκόλως γὰρ ζήσεται.

31 (IV.3)

“I still have some things to ask, Lord,” I said. “Go ahead,” he replied. “I have heard from some teachers, Lord,” I said, “that there is no repentance apart from the one that came when we descended into the water and received forgiveness for the sins we formerly committed.” 2. He said to me, “You have heard well, for that is so. For the one who has received forgiveness of sins must sin no more, but live in holiness. 3. And since you are carefully inquiring about all things, I will show this to you as well—not, however, to give an occasion for those who are about to believe in the Lord or who have already come to believe. For those who now believe or who are about to believe have no further repentance for their sins, but have received forgiveness for the sins they previously committed. 4. And so the Lord has given those who were called before these days an opportunity to repent. For the Lord knows the heart, and knowing all things in advance he recognized the weakness of humans and the intricate plots of the devil—that he will do some harm to the slaves of God and will work havoc among them. 5. And so, since the Lord is full of compassion, he had mercy on his creation and provided this opportunity to repent; and the authority for this repentance was given to me. 6. But this also I say to you,” he said, “whoever is tempted by the devil and sins after that great and reverent calling has one repentance. But if he should sin and repent repeatedly it is of no benefit to him. For he will find it

¹⁸ τῶν προτέρων S A L² E: om. L¹

¹⁹ καὶ S L L E C¹: add οὐ A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

7. λέγω αὐτῷ· ἐξωποιεῖθην ταῦτα παρὰ σοῦ ἀκούσας οὕτως ἀκριβῶς· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι, ἐὰν μηκέτι προσθήσω ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις μου, σωθήσομαι. σωθήσῃ, φησίν, καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐὰν ταῦτα ποιήσωσιν.

32 (IV.4)

Ἡρώτησα αὐτὸν πάλιν λέγων· κύριε, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ ἀνέχῃ μου, ἔτι μοι καὶ τοῦτο δῆλωσον. λέγε, φησίν.²⁰ ἐὰν γυνή, φημί, κύριε, ἢ πάλιν ἀνὴρ τις κοιμηθῇ καὶ γαμήσῃ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν, μήτι ἀμαρτάνει ὁ γαμῶν; 2. οὐχ ἀμαρτάνει, φησίν· ἐὰν δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μένῃ τις, περισσοτέραν ἑαυτῷ τιμὴν καὶ²¹ μεγάλην δόξαν περιποιεῖται πρὸς τὸν κύριον· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ γαμήσῃ, οὐχ ἀμαρτάνει.²² 3. τήρει οὖν τὴν ἀγνείαν καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα, καὶ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ. ταῦτά σοι ὅσα λαλῶ ἢ καὶ μέλλω λαλεῖν, φύλασσε ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, ἀφ' ἧς μοι παρεδόθης ἡμέρας, καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου κατοικήσω. 4. τοῖς δὲ προτέροις σου παραπτώμασιν ἄφεσις ἔσται, ἐὰν τὰς ἐντολάς μου φυλάξῃς. καὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἄφεσις ἔσται, ἐὰν τὰς ἐντολάς μου ταύτας φυλάξωσι καὶ πορευθῶσιν ἐν τῇ ἀγνότητι ταύτῃ.

²⁰ ἐπεὶ . . . φησίν S A L L E: om. C¹

²¹ περισσοτέραν . . . καὶ S A L L E: om. C¹

²² ἐὰν . . . ἀμαρτάνει S A L² E C¹: om. L¹

difficult to live.” 7. I said to him, “I have been made alive by hearing these things from you so accurately. For I know that if I no longer increase my sins, I will be saved.” “You will be saved,” he replied, “as will everyone else who does these things.”

32 (IV.4)

I asked him again, “Lord, since you have borne with me once, reveal this to me as well.” “Speak,” he said. “Lord,” I said, “if a wife or, again, a husband, should die and the survivor marry, does the one who marries commit a sin?” 2. “That one does not sin,” he said, “but anyone who remains alone has provided a superior honor for himself and a great glory to the Lord. But if such a one does marry, it is not a sin. 3. And so, maintain your purity and reverence, and you will live to God. From now on, from this day in which you have been entrusted to me, guard all these things that I say and am about to say to you, and I will reside in your house. 4. For your former transgressions will be forgiven if you guard my commandments. And everyone will be forgiven, if they guard these my commandments and proceed in this purity.”

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

Ἐντολή ε΄

33 (V.1)

Μακρόθυμος, φησί, γίνου καὶ συνετός, καὶ πάντων τῶν πονηρῶν ἔργων κατακυριεύσεις καὶ ἐργάση πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην. 2. εἰ ἂν γὰρ μακρόθυμος ἔσῃ, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ κατοικοῦν ἐν σοὶ καθαρὸν ἔσται, μὴ ἐπισκοτούμενον ὑπὸ ἐτέρου πονηροῦ²³ πνεύματος, ἀλλ' ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ κατοικοῦν ἀγαλλιάσεται καὶ εὐφρανθήσεται μετὰ τοῦ σκεύους ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖ, καὶ λειτουργήσῃ τῷ θεῷ²⁴ ἐν ἰλαρότητι πολλῇ, ἔχον τὴν εὐθηνίαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ. 3. εἰ ἂν δὲ ὀξύχολία τις προσέλθῃ, εὐθὺς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τρυφερὸν ὄν, στενοχωρεῖται, μὴ ἔχον τὸν τόπον καθαρὸν, καὶ ζητεῖ ἀποστῆναι ἐκ τοῦ τόπου·²⁵ πνίγεται γὰρ ὑπὸ²⁶ τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος, μὴ ἔχον τόπον λειτουργῆσαι τῷ κυρίῳ καθὼς βούλεται, μαινόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ὀξύχολίας. ἐν γὰρ τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ ὁ κύριος κατοικεῖ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὀξύχολίᾳ ὁ διάβολος. 4. ἀμφοτέρωθεν οὖν τὰ πνεύματα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατοικοῦντα, ἀσύμφορόν ἐστιν καὶ πονηρὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾧ κατοικοῦσιν. 5. εἰ ἂν γὰρ λάβῃς ἀψινθίου μικρὸν λίαν καὶ εἰς κεράμιον μέλιτος ἐπιχέῃς, οὐχὶ ὅλον τὸ μέλι ἀφανίζεται; καὶ τοσοῦτον μέλι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἀψινθίου ἀπόλλυται·²⁷ καὶ ἀπολλύει τὴν γλυκύτητα τοῦ μέλιτος, καὶ οὐκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν χάριν ἔχει παρὰ τῷ δεσπότῃ, ὅτι ἐπικράνθη καὶ τὴν χρήσιν αὐτοῦ ἀπώλεσεν. εἰ ἂν δὲ εἰς τὸ μέλι μὴ βληθῇ τὸ ἀψινθιον, γλυκὺ εὐρίσκεται τὸ

Fifth Commandment

33 (V.1)

“Be patient,” he said, “and understanding, and you will rule over every evil work and do all that is righteous. 2. For if you are patient, the holy spirit that dwells in you will be pure and will not be overshadowed by another, evil spirit; but dwelling in a broad place it will rejoice and be glad with the vessel it inhabits, and it will serve God with great cheerfulness, flourishing in itself. 3. But if any irascibility should enter in, immediately the holy spirit, which is sensitive, feels cramped; and not having a pure place it seeks to leave. For it is suffocated by the evil spirit, not having a place to serve the Lord as it wishes, being polluted by the irascibility. For the Lord dwells in patience, but the devil in irascibility. 4. And so, when both spirits dwell in the same place, it is unprofitable and evil for that person in whom they dwell. 5. For if you take a very small portion of wormwood and pour it into a jar of honey, is not all the honey spoiled? A great deal of honey is ruined by the least bit of wormwood. It destroys the sweetness of the honey, which is no longer pleasing to the master, because it has become bitter and lost its value. But if the wormwood is not put into the honey, the honey is found to be sweet and

²³ ἑτέρον πονηροῦ L¹ E C¹: ἑτέρον A: πονηροῦ L²

²⁴ θεῶ A L L E: κυρίῳ C¹

²⁵ τόπου A L L E: ἀνθρώπου C¹

²⁶ ὑπὸ L L E C¹: ῥύπῳ A

²⁷ τοσοῦτον . . . ἀπόλλυται L¹ (L²) E: πικρὸν γίνεται A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

μέλι καὶ εὐχρηστον γίνεται τῷ δεσπότῃ αὐτοῦ.
 6. βλέπεις ὅτι ἡ μακροθυμία γλυκυτάτη ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὸ
 μέλι καὶ εὐχρηστός ἐστι τῷ κυρίῳ,²⁸ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ²⁹
 κατοικεῖ. ἡ δὲ ὀξύχολία πικρὰ καὶ ἄχρηστός ἐστιν.
 εἰς οὖν μιγῇ ἡ ὀξύχολία τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ, μιαίνεται ἡ
 μακροθυμία, καὶ οὐκ εὐχρηστός ἐστι τῷ θεῷ ἡ
 ἔντευξις αὐτῆς. 7. ἤθελον, φημί, κύριε, γνῶναι τὴν
 ἐνέργειαν τῆς ὀξύχολίας, ἵνα φυλάξωμαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς.
 καὶ μήν, φησὶν, εἰς μὴ φυλάξῃ ἀπ' αὐτῆς σὺ καὶ ὁ
 οἶκός σου, ἀπώλεσάς σου τὴν πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα. ἀλλὰ
 φύλαξαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς· ἐγὼ γὰρ μετὰ σοῦ εἰμί. καὶ πάντες
 δὲ ἀφέξονται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὅσοι ἂν μετανοήσωσιν ἐξ
 ὅλης τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν· μετ' αὐτῶν γὰρ ἔσομαι καὶ
 συντηρήσω αὐτούς· ἐδικαιώθησαν γὰρ πάντες ὑπὸ
 τοῦ σεμνοτάτου ἀγγέλου.

34 (V.2)

Ἄκουε νῦν, φησί, τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς ὀξύχολίας, πῶς
 πονηρά ἐστι, καὶ πῶς τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ κατα-
 στρέφει τῇ ἐαυτῆς ἐνεργείᾳ, καὶ πῶς ἀποπλανᾷ αὐ-
 τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης. οὐκ ἀποπλανᾷ δὲ τοὺς
 πλήρεις ὄντας ἐν τῇ πίστει, οὐδὲ ἐνεργῆσαι δύναται
 εἰς αὐτούς, ὅτι ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ³⁰ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστίν·
 ἀποπλανᾷ δὲ τοὺς ἀποκένους καὶ διψύχους ὄντας.
 2. ὅταν γὰρ ἴδῃ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους εὐσταθοῦν-
 τας, παρεμβάλλει ἐαυτὴν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ ἀν-
 θρώπου ἐκείνου, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἡ γυνὴ ἢ ὁ ἀνὴρ³¹

is valuable to the master. 6. You see that patience is sweeter than honey and is valuable to the Lord, and he dwells in it. But irascibility is bitter and useless. And so, if irascibility is mixed with patience, the patience is defiled and its prayer is of no use to God.” 7. “I wish to know, Lord,” I said, “the inner workings of irascibility, that I may guard against it.” “Yes indeed,” he replied, “if you and your household do not guard against it, you destroy your entire hope. But guard against it, for I am with you. And all those who repent from their whole heart will abstain from it; for I will be with them and protect them. For all have been made upright by the most reverend angel.

34 (V.2)

“Hear, now,” he said, “the inner workings of irascibility, how it is evil and brings ruin on the slaves of God by the way it works, and misleads them away from righteousness. It does not mislead those who are full of faith, nor is it able to work against them, because the power of God is with them. But it misleads those who are empty and of two minds. 2. For when it sees such people at rest it inserts itself into their hearts, and with no warning the woman or

28 κυρίῳ L¹: θεῷ A L²

29 αὐτῇ L L E: add ὁ κύριος A

30 τοῦ θεοῦ L¹: τοῦ κυρίου L²: μου A

31 ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ὁ ἀνὴρ A: ὁ ἀνὴρ . . . ἡ γυνὴ L L E

ἐν πικρία γίνεται ἔνεκεν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων, ἣ περι
 ἔδεσμάτων ἢ μικρολογίας τινος, ἢ φίλου τινος,³² ἢ
 περι δόσεως ἢ λήψεως, ἢ περι τοιούτων μωρῶν
 πραγμάτων. ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα μωρά ἐστι καὶ κενὰ καὶ
 ἄφρονα καὶ ἀσύμφορα τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. ἡ δὲ
 μακροθυμία μεγάλη ἐστὶ καὶ ἰσχυρά, δύναμιν ἔχουσα
 καὶ στιβαρὰν καὶ εὐθηνουμένην ἐν πλατυσμῷ μεγά-
 λῳ, ἰλαρά, ἀγαλλιωμένη, ἀμέριμνος οὖσα, δοξάζουσα
 τὸν κύριον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, μηδὲν ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἔχουσα
 πικρόν, παραμένουσα διαπαντὸς πραεῖα καὶ ἡσύχιος.
 αὕτη οὖν ἡ μακροθυμία κατοικεῖ μετὰ τῶν τὴν πίστιν
 ἐχόντων ὁλόκληρον. 4. ἡ δὲ ὀξύχολία πρῶτον μὲν
 μωρά ἐστίν, ἐλαφρά τε καὶ ἄφρων. εἶτα ἐκ τῆς ἀφρο-
 σύνης γίνεται πικρία, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πικρίας θυμός, ἐκ δὲ
 τοῦ θυμοῦ ὀργή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς μῆνις· εἶτα ἡ μῆνις
 αὕτη ἐκ τοσούτων κακῶν συνισταμένη γίνεται ἁμαρ-
 τία μεγάλη καὶ ἀνίατος. 5. ὅταν γὰρ ταῦτα³³ τὰ
 πνεύματα ἐν ἐνὶ ἀγγείῳ κατοικῇ, οὗ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ
 ἅγιον κατοικεῖ, οὐ χωρεῖ τὸ ἄγγος ἐκείνο,³⁴ ἀλλ'
 ὑπερπλεονάζει. 6. τὸ τρυφερόν οὖν πνεῦμα, μὴ ἔχον
 συνήθειαν μετὰ πονηροῦ πνεύματος κατοικεῖν μηδὲ
 μετὰ σκληρότητος, ἀποχωρεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ
 τοιούτου καὶ ζητεῖ κατοικεῖν μετὰ πραότητος καὶ ἡσυ-
 χίας. 7. εἶτα ὅταν ἀποστῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου
 οὗ κατοικεῖ, γίνεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκείνος κενὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ
 πνεύματος τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πεπληρωμένος
 τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῖς πονηροῖς ἀκαταστατεῖ ἐν πάσῃ
 πράξει αὐτοῦ, περισπώμενος ὧδε καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀπὸ τῶν πνευ-

man becomes embittered on account of some business deals, or because of food or something trivial, or because of a friend or something received or given, or because of other such foolish matters. For all these things are foolish, empty, senseless, and unprofitable for the slaves of God. 3. But patience is great and mighty; it has a forceful power that flourishes in a spacious arena; it is cheerful, glad, and free of anxiety, glorifying the Lord at all times, having no bitterness in itself but remaining always meek and mild. This patience, therefore, dwells with all those who hold on to faith intact. 4. But irascibility is first of all foolish, fickle, and senseless. And then, from senselessness comes bitterness, from bitterness anger, from anger wrath, and from wrath rage. Then this rage, which is compounded of such evil things, becomes a great and incurable sin. 5. For when these spirits dwell in one and the same vessel with the holy spirit, the vessel no longer has sufficient space but is stuffed to the brim. 6. And so the sensitive spirit, which is not accustomed to dwelling with an evil spirit nor with harshness, leaves the person and seeks to live with meekness and mildness. 7. Then when it leaves the one it had inhabited, the person becomes devoid of the upright spirit and at last, being filled with evil spirits, vacillates in everything he does, being dragged back and forth by the evil

³² ἡ φίλου τινος L¹ (L²) E: om. A

³³ ταῦτα A L L: παντα PO^x: πάντα ταῦτα E

³⁴ οὐ καὶ . . . ἐκείνο A L L E: οὐκέτι τὸ [πᾶν] τὸ ἅγιον
χωρεῖ ἐκείνο τὸ ἄγος PO^x

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

μάτων τῶν πονηρῶν, καὶ ὅλως ἀποτυφλοῦται ἀπὸ τῆς
διανοίας τῆς ἀγαθῆς. οὕτως οὖν συμβαίνει πᾶσι τοῖς
ὀξυχόλοις. 8. ἀπέχου οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀξυχολίας, τοῦ
πονηροτάτου πνεύματος· ἔνδυσαι δὲ τὴν μακροθυμίαν
καὶ ἀντίστα τῇ ὀξυχολίᾳ καὶ τῇ πικρίᾳ,³⁵ καὶ ἔση
εὕρισκόμενος³⁶ μετὰ τῆς σεμνότητος τῆς ἡγαπημένης
ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου. βλέπε οὖν μήποτε παρενθυμηθῇς τὴν
ἐντολὴν ταύτην· ἐὰν γὰρ ταύτης τῆς ἐντολῆς κυρι-
εύσης, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐντολὰς δυνήσῃ φυλάξαι, ἃς
σοι μέλλω ἐντέλλεσθαι. ἰσχυροποιού σου³⁷ ἐν αὐταῖς
καὶ ἐνδυναμοῦ, καὶ πάντες ἐνδυναμούσθωσαν ὅσοι ἐὰν
θέλωσιν ἐν αὐταῖς πορεύεσθαι.

Ἐντολὴ 5'

35 (VI.1)

Ἐνετειλάμην σοι, φησὶν, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐντολῇ ἵνα
φυλάξῃς τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἐγκρά-
τειαν. ναί, φημί, κύριε. ἀλλὰ νῦν θέλω σοι, φησὶν,
δηλῶσαι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν, ἵνα νοήσῃς τίς
αὐτῶν τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει καὶ ἐνέργειαν. διπλαῖ γάρ
εἰσιν αἱ ἐνέργειαι αὐτῶν· κεῖνται οὖν ἐπὶ δικαίῳ καὶ
ἀδίκῳ. 2. σὺ οὖν πίστευε τῷ δικαίῳ, τῷ δὲ ἀδίκῳ μὴ
πιστεύσῃς· τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ
ἄδικον στρεβλήν. ἀλλὰ σὺ τῇ ὀρθῇ ὁδῷ πορεύου καὶ
ὁμαλῇ, τὴν δὲ στρεβλὴν ἔασον. 3. ἡ γὰρ στρεβλὴ
ὁδὸς τρίβους οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἀνοδίας καὶ προσκόμματα

spirits, entirely blinded from any good understanding. This then is what happens to everyone who is irascible. 8. And so, avoid irascibility, which is the most wicked spirit. Clothe yourself with patience and stand against irascibility and bitterness, and you will be found with the reverence that is loved by the Lord. Take care that you never neglect this commandment. For if you master it, you will be able to guard the other commandments, which I am about to give you. And so, be strong and empowered in them, and may everyone who wishes to proceed in them be so empowered."

Sixth Commandment

35 (VI.1)

"I commanded you in the first commandment," he said, to guard faith, fear, and self-restraint." "Yes, Lord," I replied. "But now," he said, "I want to show you their powers [*Or: character*], that you may understand the power [*Or: character*] and inner working each of them has. For their inner workings are twofold, appointed for both the just and the unjust. 2. And so, trust what is just but not what is unjust. For the just has a straight path, but the unjust a crooked one. Proceed along the straight and level path, and avoid the crooked. 3. For the crooked path has no roads, but is filled with impassible places and many stumbling blocks,

³⁵ καὶ τῇ πικρίᾳ PO^x A L² E: om. L¹

³⁶ εὐρισκόμενος PO^x vid. A L¹: om. L²

³⁷ ἰσχυροποίου οὖν PO^x (L¹): ἰσχυρου A L² E: ἰσχυε οὖν (L¹)

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

πολλά, καὶ τραχεῖά ἐστι καὶ ἀκανθώδης.³⁸ βλαβερὰ οὖν ἐστι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ πορευομένοις. 4. οἱ δὲ τῇ ὀρθῇ ὁδῷ πορευόμενοι ὁμαλῶς περιπατοῦσι καὶ ἀπροσκόπως· οὔτε γὰρ τραχεῖά ἐστιν οὔτε ἀκανθώδης. βλέπεις οὖν ὅτι συμφωρότερόν ἐστι ταύτη τῇ ὁδῷ πορεύεσθαι. 5. ἀρέσκει μοι, φημί, κύριε, ταύτη τῇ ὁδῷ πορεύεσθαι. πορεύσῃ, φησί, καὶ ὃς ἂν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς κύριον, πορεύσεται ἐν αὐτῇ.

36 (VI.2)

Ἄκουε νῦν, φησί, περὶ τῆς πίστεως. δύο εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἷς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἷς τῆς πονηρίας. 2. πῶς οὖν, φημί, κύριε, γνῶσομαι τὰς αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας, ὅτι ἀμφοτέροι ἄγγελοι μετ' ἐμοῦ κατοικοῦσιν; 3. ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ συνιεῖς αὐτάς. ὁ μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄγγελος τρυφερός ἐστι καὶ αἰσχυνηρὸς καὶ πραῦς καὶ ἡσύχιος. ὅταν οὖν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, εὐθέως λαλεῖ μετὰ σοῦ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, περὶ ἀγνείας, περὶ σεμνότητος καὶ περὶ αὐταρκείας καὶ περὶ παντὸς ἔργου δικαίου καὶ περὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐνδόξου. ταῦτα πάντα ὅταν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, γίνωσκε ὅτι ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς δικαιοσύνης μετὰ σοῦ ἐστι. ταῦτα οὖν ἐστι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς δικαιοσύνης. τούτῳ οὖν πίστευε καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. 4. ὅρα νῦν καὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας τὰ ἔργα. πρῶτον πάντων ὀξύχολός ἐστι, καὶ πικρὸς καὶ ἄφρων,³⁹ καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά,

and it is rough and full of thorns. And so it harms those who walk in it. 4. But those who go along the right path have a level course and walk without stumbling. For it is neither rough nor thorny. 5. And so you see that it is better to take this path." "I am quite happy, Lord," I said, "to take this path." "Take it, then," he said, "and whoever turns to the Lord with a whole heart will take it.

36 (VI.2)

"Hear now," he said, "about faith. A person has two angels, one of righteousness and the other of wickedness." 2. "And how, then, Lord," I asked, "will I know the inner workings of these, since both angels dwell with me?" 3. "Listen," he said, "and you will understand these things. The angel of righteousness is sensitive, modest, meek, and mild. And so, when he rises up in your heart, he immediately speaks with you about righteousness, purity, reverence, contentment, every upright deed, and every glorious virtue. When all these things rise up in your heart, realize that the angel of righteousness is with you. These are the works of the angel of righteousness. Trust this one, therefore, and his works. 4. See now also the works of the angel of wickedness. First of all, he is irascible, bitter, and senseless, and

³⁸ ἀκανθώδης A L² E: add *et ducit ad interitum* L¹

³⁹ καὶ π. κ. ἄφρων L L (E): om. A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

καταστρέφοντα τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅταν οὖν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, γνώθι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. 5. πῶς, φημί, κύριε, νοήσω αὐτόν, οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι. ἄκουε, φησὶν. ὅταν ὀξύχολία σοί τις προσπέσῃ ἢ πικρία, γίνωσκε ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ἐν σοί· εἴτα ἐπιθυμία πράξεων πολλῶν καὶ πολυτέλειαι ἐδεσμάτων πολλῶν καὶ μεθυσμάτων καὶ κραιπαλῶν⁴⁰ πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων τρυφῶν⁴¹ καὶ οὐ δεόντων, καὶ ἐπιθυμῖαι γυναικῶν καὶ πλεονεξία καὶ ὑπερηφανία πολλή τις⁴² καὶ ἀλαζονεία, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσιά ἐστι καὶ ὅμοια.⁴³ ταῦτα οὖν ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, γίνωσκε ὅτι ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς πονηρίας ἐστὶν ἐν σοί.⁴⁴ 6. σὺ οὖν ἐπιγνοὺς τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἀπόστα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ πιστεue, ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά εἰσι καὶ ἀσύμφορα τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔχεις οὖν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἀγγέλων τὰς ἐνεργείας· σύνιε αὐτὰς καὶ πιστεue τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης· 7. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας ἀποστήθι, ὅτι ἡ διδαχὴ αὐτοῦ πονηρά ἐστι παντὶ ἔργῳ· ἐὰν γὰρ ἦ τις πιστότατος ἀνὴρ, καὶ ἡ ἐνθύμησις τοῦ ἀγγέλου τούτου ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ, δεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκείνῳ ἢ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐξαμαρτῆσαί τι. 8. ἐὰν δὲ πάλιν πονηρότατός τις ἦ ἀνὴρ ἢ⁴⁵ γυνή, καὶ ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀγαθόν τι ποιῆσαι. 9. βλέπεις οὖν, φησὶν, ὅτι καλόν ἐστι τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀκολουθεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς πονη-

his works are wicked, bringing ruin on the slaves of God. And so, when this one rises up in your heart, recognize him from his works." 5. "I do not understand, Lord," I said, "how to perceive him." "Listen," he replied. "When any irascibility or bitterness should fall on you, realize that he is in you. Then there is desire for many activities and numerous extravagant foods and drinking bouts and many wild parties and various completely unnecessary luxuries, and desires for women and greed and a certain great haughtiness and arrogance, and everything that is closely connected to these things. And so, when these things rise up in your heart, realize that the angel of wickedness is in you. 6. So then, since you know his works, draw away from him and do not trust him at all, because his works are wicked and harmful to the slaves of God. This, then, is what you need to know about the inner workings of both angels. Understand these things, and trust the angel of righteousness. 7. But withdraw from the angel of wickedness, because his teaching is wicked in everything he does. For if a man is completely faithful, but the thought from that angel should rise up in his heart, that man or woman must commit a sin. 8. But again, if there is a most wicked man or woman, but the works of the angel of righteousness should rise up in his heart, that one must necessarily do something good. 9. And so you see," he said, "that it is good to follow the angel of righteousness and to abandon the an-

⁴⁰ καὶ κραιπαλῶν A E: om. L L

⁴¹ τρυφῶν (L² E): τροφῶν A

⁴² πολλή τις A: *multiloquia* L¹: *loquacitas* E: om. L²

⁴³ καὶ ὅμοια A L²: om. L¹: *inutilia* E ⁴⁴ ἐν σοί A: μετὰ σοῦ L L: *super te* E ⁴⁵ ἀνὴρ ἢ A L¹ E: om. L²

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ρίας ἀποτάξασθαι.⁴⁶ 10. τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς πίστεως αὕτη ἡ ἐντολὴ δηλοῖ, ἵνα τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς δικαιοσύνης πιστεύσης, καὶ ἐργασάμενος αὐτὰ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ. πίστευε δὲ ὅτι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας χαλεπά ἐστι· μὴ ἐργαζόμενος οὖν αὐτὰ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ.

Ἐντολὴ ζ'

37 (VII)

Φοβήθητι, φησί, τὸν κύριον καὶ φύλασσε τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ· φυλάσσων οὖν τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἔση δυνατὸς ἐν πάσῃ πράξει, καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις σου ἀσύγκριτος ἔσται. φοβούμενος γὰρ τὸν κύριον πάντα καλῶς ἐργάσῃ· οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ φόβος ὃν δεῖ σε φοβηθῆναι, καὶ σωθῆσῃ. 2. τὸν δὲ διάβολον μὴ φοβηθῆς· φοβούμενος γὰρ τὸν κύριον κατακυριεύσεις τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι δύναμις ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ δύναμις οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ φόβος· ἐν ᾧ δὲ δύναμις ἢ ἔνδοξος, καὶ φόβος ἐν αὐτῷ. πᾶς γὰρ ὁ δύναμιν ἔχων φόβον ἔχει· ὁ δὲ μὴ ἔχων δύναμιν ὑπὸ πάντων καταφρονεῖται. 3. φοβήθητι δὲ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι πονηρά ἐστι. φοβούμενος οὖν τὸν κύριον φοβηθήσῃ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ⁴⁷ οὐκ ἐργάσῃ αὐτά,⁴⁸ ἀλλ' ἀφέξῃ ἀπ' αὐτῶν. 4. δισσοὶ οὖν εἰσιν οἱ φόβοι· εἴαν γὰρ θέλῃς τὸ πονηρὸν ἐργάσασθαι, φοβοῦ τὸν κύριον⁴⁹ καὶ οὐκ ἐργάσῃ αὐτό· εἴαν δὲ θέλῃς πάλιν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσασθαι, φοβοῦ τὸν κύριον καὶ ἐργάσῃ αὐτό. ὥστε ὁ

gel of wickedness. 10. This commandment reveals what belongs to faith, so that you may trust the works of the angel of righteousness and, once you have done these things, live to God. But you should trust that the works of the angel of wickedness are troublesome. And so, by not doing them, you will live to God."

Seventh Commandment

37 (VII)

"Fear the Lord," he said, "and guard his commandments. When you guard the commandments of God you will be empowered in all your activities, and they will be beyond compare. For when you fear the Lord you will do all things well. This is the kind of fear you must have, and you will be saved. 2. But do not fear the devil. For if you fear the Lord you will dominate the devil, because there is no power in him. But in whom there is no power, neither is there fear. But in whom there is glorious power, there is also fear. For everyone who has power is feared; but the one who is powerless is despised by all. 3. But fear the works of the devil, because they are evil. And so, if you fear the Lord, you will fear the works of the devil and not do them, but you will abstain from them. 4. And so there are two kinds of fear. For if you want to do evil, fear the Lord and you will not do it; but if you want again to do what is good, fear the Lord and

⁴⁶ τῷ . . . ἀποτάξασθαι A L² E: om. L¹

⁴⁷ φοβηθήσῃ . . . καὶ L¹: om. A

⁴⁸ φοβούμενος . . . αὐτά A L¹: om. L² E

⁴⁹ κύριον L L: θεὸν A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

φόβος τοῦ κυρίου ἰσχυρός ἐστὶ καὶ μέγας καὶ ἔνδοξος. φοβήθητι οὖν τὸν κύριον, καὶ ζήσῃ αὐτῷ· καὶ ὅσοι ἂν φοβηθῶσιν αὐτὸν καὶ τηρήσωσι⁵⁰ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ. 5. διατί, φημί, κύριε, εἶπας περὶ τῶν τηρούντων τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ· ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ; ὅτι, φησὶν, πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις φοβεῖται τὸν κύριον, τὰς δὲ ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ οὐ φυλάσσει. τῶν οὖν φοβουμένων αὐτὸν καὶ φυλασσόντων τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ἐκείνων ἡ ζωὴ ἐστὶ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ· τῶν δὲ μὴ φυλασσόντων τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ζωὴ ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Ἐντολὴ ἡ'

38 (VIII)

Εἰπὸν σοι, φησὶν, ὅτι τὰ κτίσματα τοῦ θεοῦ⁵¹ διπλᾶ ἐστὶ καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἐγκράτεια διπλῆ ἐστίν. ἐπὶ τινων γὰρ δεῖ ἐγκρατεῦσθαι, ἐπὶ τινων δὲ οὐ δεῖ. 2. γνώρισόν μοι, φημί, κύριε, ἐπὶ τίνων δεῖ ἐγκρατεῦσθαι, ἐπὶ τίνων δὲ οὐ δεῖ. ἄκουε, φησί. τὸ πονηρὸν ἐγκρατεύου, καὶ μὴ ποίει αὐτό· τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐγκρατεύου, ἀλλὰ ποίει αὐτό. ἔαν γὰρ ἐγκρατεύσῃ τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ποιεῖν, ἁμαρτίαν μεγάλην ἐργάζῃ.⁵² ἔαν δὲ ἐγκρατεύσῃ τὸ πονηρὸν μὴ ποιεῖν, δικαιοσύνην μεγάλην ἐργάζῃ. ἐγκρατεῦσαι οὖν ἀπὸ πονηρίας πάσης ἐργαζόμενος τὸ ἀγαθόν. 3. ποταπαί, φημί, κύριε, εἰσὶν αἱ πονηρίαι ἀφ' ὧν δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἐγκρατεῦσθαι; ἄκουε, φησὶν· ἀπὸ μοιχείας καὶ πορνείας, ἀπὸ μεθύσματος ἀνομίας, ἀπὸ τρυφῆς πονηρᾶς, ἀπὸ ἐδεσμάτων πολλῶν καὶ πολυτε-

you will do it. And so, the fear of the Lord is strong, great, and glorious. Thus, fear the Lord and you will live in him. And all who fear him and keep his commandments will live to God.” 5. “Why Lord,” I asked, “did you say that those who keep his commandments will live to God?” “Because,” he said, “the entire creation fears the Lord, but it does not guard his commandments. And so, those who fear him and guard his commandments are the ones who live before God. But there is no life among those who do not guard his commandments.”

Eighth Commandment

38 (VIII)

“I have told you,” he said, “that the creations of God are twofold. And self-restraint is twofold as well. For you must refrain from some things but not others.” 2. “Show me, Lord,” I said, “which things I must refrain from and which things not.” “Listen,” he said. “Refrain from evil and do not do it. But do not refrain from good, but do it. For if you refrain from doing good, you commit a great sin. But if you refrain from evil, you perform a great act of righteousness. And so, refrain from all evil by doing what is good.” 3. I replied, “What sorts of evil things, Lord, must we refrain from doing?” “Listen,” he said: “from adultery and sexual immorality, from lawless drunkenness, from evil luxury, from an abundance of foods, extravagant wealth, boasting,

⁵⁰ καὶ τηρήσωσι L² E: τῶν φυλασσόντων A

⁵¹ θεοῦ A L² E: κυρίου L¹

⁵² ἐὰν . . . ἐργάζη L L E: om. A

λείας πλούτου καὶ καυχήσεως καὶ ὑψηλοφροσύνης καὶ ὑπερηφανίας, καὶ ἀπὸ ψεύσματος καὶ καταλαλιᾶς καὶ ὑποκρίσεως, μνησικακίας καὶ πάσης βλασφημίας.

4. ταῦτα τὰ ἔργα πάντων πονηρότατά εἰσιν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἀπὸ τούτων οὖν τῶν ἔργων δεῖ ἐγκρατεῦσθαι τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ. ὁ γὰρ μὴ ἐγκρατεύμενος ἀπὸ τούτων οὐ δύναται ζῆσαι τῷ θεῷ. ἄκουε οὖν καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτων.

5. ἔτι γάρ, φημί, κύριε, πονηρὰ ἔργα ἐστί; καί γε πολλά, φησίν, ἔστιν ἀφ' ὧν δεῖ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγκρατεῦσθαι· κλέμμα, ψεύδος, ἀποστέρησις, ψευδομαρτυρία, πλεονεξία, ἐπιθυμία πονηρά, ἀπάτη, κενοδοξία, ἀλαζονεία, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοιά εἰσιν.

6. οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦτα πονηρὰ εἶναι; καὶ λίαν πονηρά, φημί,⁵³ τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. τούτων πάντων δεῖ ἐγκρατεῦσθαι τὸν δουλεύοντα τῷ θεῷ. ἐγκράτευσαι οὖν ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων, ἵνα ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐγγραφήσῃ μετὰ τῶν ἐγκρατενομένων αὐτά. ὧν μὲν οὖν δεῖ σε ἐγκρατεῦσθαι, ταῦτά ἐστιν.

7. ἀ δὲ δεῖ σε μὴ ἐγκρατεῦσθαι, φησίν, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν, ἄκουε. τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐγκρατεύου, ἀλλὰ ποίει αὐτό.

8. καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μοι, φημί, κύριε, δήλωσον τὴν δύναμιν, ἵνα πορευθῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ δουλεύσω αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ἐργασάμενος αὐτὰ δυνηθῶ σωθῆναι. ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἔργα, ἃ σε δεῖ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐγκρατεῦσθαι.

9. πρῶτον πάντων πίστις, φόβος κυρίου,⁵⁴ ἀγάπη, ὁμόνοια, ῥήματα δικαιοσύνης, ἀλήθεια, ὑπομονή· τούτων ἀγαθώτερον οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ταῦτα ἐάν τις φυλάσσῃ καὶ μὴ

pride, and haughtiness, from lying, slander, and hypocrisy, from bearing a grudge and speaking any blasphemy. 4. These are the most wicked of all the deeds of human life. And so, the slave of God must refrain from doing them. For the one who does not refrain from these cannot live to God. Hear now as well about the things that follow these.” 5. “Are there yet other wicked deeds, Lord?” I asked. “Yes indeed,” he said, “there are many from which the slave of God must refrain: robbery, lying, fraud, bearing false witness, greed, evil desire, deception, vanity, arrogance, and as many things as are similar to these. 6. Do these things not seem wicked to you?” “Yes indeed,” I said, “very wicked for the slaves of God.” “And so it is necessary for the one enslaved to God to refrain from these things. Refrain from all of them, that you may live to God and be enrolled with those who refrain from them. These, then, are the things from which you must refrain. 7. And listen now,” he said, “to the things that you must not refrain from, but do. Do not refrain from the good, but do it.” 8. “Show me, Lord,” I said, “the power [*Or: character*] of the good things, that I may proceed in them and serve as their slave, that by doing them I can be saved.” “Listen also to the works of the good,” he said, “which you must do and not refrain from. 9. First of all: faith, fear of the Lord, love, harmony, words of righteousness, truth, and endurance. Nothing in human life is better than these. Anyone who

⁵³ φημί A: φησί L²: om. L¹ E

⁵⁴ κυρίου L¹: θεοῦ A L²

ἐγκρατεύηται ἀπ' αὐτῶν, μακάριος γίνεται ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ. 10. εἴτα τούτων τὰ ἀκόλουθα ἄκουσον· χήραις ὑπηρετεῖν, ὀρφανούς καὶ ὑστερουμένους ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, ἐξ ἀναγκῶν λυτροῦσθαι τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ, φιλόξενον εἶναι (ἐν γὰρ τῇ φιλοξενίᾳ εὐρίσκεται ἀγαθοποίησις ποτε), μηδενὶ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι, ἡσύχιον εἶναι, ἐνδεέστερον γίνεσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων, πρεσβύτας σέβεσθαι, δικαιοσύνην ἀσκεῖν, ἀδελφότητα⁵⁵ συντηρεῖν, ὕβριν ὑποφέρειν, μακρόθυμον εἶναι, μνησικακίαν μὴ ἔχειν, κάμνοντας τῇ ψυχῇ παρακαλεῖν, ἐσκανδαλισμένους ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως μὴ ἀποβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιστρέφειν καὶ εὐθύμους ποιεῖν, ἀμαρτάνοντας νουθετεῖν, χρεώστας μὴ θλίβειν καὶ ἐνδεεῖς,⁵⁶ καὶ εἴ τινα τούτοις ὅμοιά ἐστι. 11. δοκεῖ σοι, φησί, ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ εἶναι; τί γάρ, φημί, κύριε, τούτων ἀγαθώτερον; πορεύου οὖν, φησὶν, ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ μὴ ἐγκρατεύου ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ. 12. φύλασσε οὖν τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην·⁵⁷ ἐὰν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιῇς καὶ μὴ ἐγκρατεύσῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ οἱ οὕτω ποιοῦντες. καὶ πάλιν ἐὰν τὸ πονηρὸν μὴ ποιῇς καὶ ἐγκρατεύσῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ,⁵⁸ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ, ὅσοι ἐὰν ταύτας τὰς ἐντολὰς φυλάξωσι καὶ πορευθῶσιν ἐν αὐταῖς.

⁵⁵ ἀδελφότητα L L: ἀγαθότητα A

⁵⁶ καὶ ἐνδεεῖς A: ἐνδεεῖς μὴ λυπεῖν (E): om. L L

⁵⁷ καὶ ζήσῃ . . . ταύτην A L² E: om. L¹

⁵⁸ ἐὰν τὸ ἀγαθὸν . . . αὐτοῦ A L² E: *si enim custodieris haec omnia mandata* L¹

guards them and does not refrain from doing them is happy in his life. 10. Listen then to what follows from these: ministering to widows, visiting orphans and those in need, redeeming the slaves of God from their calamities, being hospitable (for doing good is sometimes found in hospitality), opposing no one, being kind, becoming more lowly than all, respecting elders, training in righteousness, protecting the brotherhood, submitting to mistreatment, being patient, not holding a grudge, comforting those who are weary, not casting out those who have stumbled from the faith, but turning them around and encouraging them, admonishing those who have sinned, not oppressing those who are in debt or needy—and other things similar to these. 11. Do these things seem to be good to you?" he asked. "And what could be better than these?" I replied. "Then proceed in them," he said, "and do not refrain from doing them, and you will live to God. 12. And so, guard this commandment. If you do good and do not refrain from it, you will live to God, and everyone who acts in this way will live to God. And again, if you do not do evil but refrain from it, you will live to God; and everyone who guards these commandments and proceeds in them will live to God."

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

Ἐντολὴ θ'

39 (IX)

Λέγει μοι· ἄρον ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ τὴν διψυχίαν καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως διψυχήσης αἰτήσασθαί τι⁵⁹ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγων ἐν σεαυτῷ ὅτι πῶς δύναμαι αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ λαβεῖν, ἡμαρτηκὼς τοσαῦτα εἰς αὐτόν; 2. μὴ διαλογίζου ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου ἐπίστρεψον ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον, καὶ αἰτοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀδιστάκτως, καὶ γνώσῃ τὴν πολυσπλαγχνίαν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπη, ἀλλὰ τὸ αἶτημα τῆς ψυχῆς σου πληροφορήσει. 3. οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ὁ θεὸς⁶⁰ ὥς οἱ ἄνθρωποι μνησικακοῦντες, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀμνησικάκος ἐστίν καὶ σπλαγχνίζεται ἐπὶ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ. 4. σὺ οὖν καθάρισόν σου τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ματαιωμάτων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ τῶν προειρημένων σοι ῥημάτων, καὶ αἰτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ἀπολήψῃ πάντα, καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν αἰτημάτων σου ἀνυστέρητος ἔσῃ, ἐὰν ἀδιστάκτως αἰτήσῃ παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου. 5. ἐὰν δὲ διστάσης ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, οὐδὲν οὐ μὴ λήψῃ τῶν αἰτημάτων σου. οἱ γὰρ διστάζοντες εἰς τὸν θεόν, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τῶν αἰτημάτων αὐτῶν. 6. οἱ δὲ ὀλοτελεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῇ πίστει πάντα αἰτοῦνται πεποιθότες ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον,⁶¹ καὶ λαμβάνουσιν, ὅτι ἀδιστάκτως αἰτοῦνται, μηδὲν διψυχοῦντες. πᾶς γὰρ δίψυχος ἀνὴρ, ἐὰν μὴ μετανόσῃ, δυσκόλως σωθήσεται. 7. καθάρισον οὖν τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀπὸ τῆς διψυχίας, ἔνδυσαι

Ninth Commandment

39 (IX)

He said to me, "Get rid of your doublemindedness, and do not be at all of two minds about whether to ask for something from God, saying to yourself, 'How can I ask anything from the Lord and receive it, after committing so many sins against him?' 2. Do not debate these matters back and forth, but turn to the Lord with all your heart, and ask him without doubting, and you will know his great compassion; for he will never forsake you but will fulfill the request of your soul. 3. For God is not like those who hold grudges: he holds no grudge and shows compassion to his creation. 4. You, therefore, cleanse your heart from all the vanities of this age and from all the matters I mentioned before. Ask from the Lord, and you will receive everything. You will lack nothing you have requested, if you ask the Lord without doubting. 5. But if you doubt in your heart, you will never receive anything you have requested. Those who doubt God are of two minds, and they obtain none of their requests. 6. But those who are mature in faith ask all things, confident in the Lord; and they receive them because they have asked without doubting, never being of two minds. For any man who is of two minds and does not repent will be saved only with difficulty. 7. And so cleanse your heart from doublemindedness and clothe yourself

⁵⁹ $\tau\iota$ L¹ E: om. A

⁶⁰ \acute{o} $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ POx L L E: om. A

⁶¹ $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ A L¹: $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$ L²

δὲ τὴν πίστιν, ὅτι ἰσχυρά ἐστι, καὶ πιστεύε τῷ θεῷ ὅτι πάντα τὰ αἰτήματά σου ἂ αἰτεῖς λήψη. καὶ ἐὰν αἰτησάμενός ποτε παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου αἶτημά τι βραδύτερον λαμβάνης, μὴ διψυχήσης ὅτι ταχὺ οὐκ ἔλαβες τὸ αἶτημα τῆς ψυχῆς σου· πάντως γὰρ διὰ πειρασμόν τινα ἢ παράπτωμά τι, ὃ σὺ ἀγνοεῖς, βραδύτερον λαμβάνεις τὸ αἶτημά σου. 8. σὺ οὖν μὴ διαλίπης αἰτούμενος τὸ αἶτημα τῆς ψυχῆς σου, καὶ λήψη αὐτό. ἐὰν δὲ ἐκκακήσης καὶ διψυχήσης αἰτούμενος, σεαυτὸν αἰτιῶ καὶ μὴ τὸν⁶² διδόντα σοι. 9. βλέπε τὴν διψυχίαν ταύτην· πονηρὰ γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀσύνητος, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκριζοῖ ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως, καὶ γε λίαν πιστοὺς καὶ ἰσχυροὺς.⁶³ καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ διψυχία θυγάτηρ⁶⁴ ἐστὶ τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ λίαν πονηρεύεται εἰς τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ. 10. καταφρόνησον οὖν τῆς διψυχίας καὶ κατακυρίευσον αὐτῆς ἐν παντὶ πράγματι, ἐνδυσάμενος τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ δυνατήν. ἡ γὰρ πίστις πάντα ἐπαγγέλλεται, πάντα τελειοῖ, ἡ δὲ διψυχία μὴ καταπιστεύουσα ἑαυτῇ πάντων ἀποτυγχάνει τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς ὧν πράσσει. 11. βλέπεις οὖν, φησὶν, ὅτι ἡ πίστις ἄνωθέν ἐστι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ἔχει δύναμιν μεγάλην· ἡ δὲ διψυχία ἐπίγειον πνεῦμά ἐστι παρὰ τοῦ διαβόλου, δύναμιν μὴ ἔχουσα. 12. σὺ οὖν δούλευε τῇ ἐχούσῃ δύναμιν τῇ πίστει, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς διψυχίας ἀπόσχου τῆς μὴ ἐχούσης δύναμιν, καὶ ζήση τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ οἱ ταῦτα φρονοῦντες.

with faith, because it is strong, and trust God that you will receive all the requests you have made. And if you ever ask for something from the Lord, but receive it only after a long delay, do not begin to doubt, simply because you did not receive your innermost request quickly. For you probably received your request slowly because of some temptation [*Or: test*] or transgression that you did not know about. 8. And so, do not stop making your innermost request, for you will receive it. But if you become disheartened and doubleminded while making your request, blame yourself and not the one who gives to you. 9. Be on the alert against this doublemindedness; for it is evil and senseless, and it uproots many from the faith, even those who are very faithful and strong. For this doublemindedness is the daughter of the devil, and it works great evil against the slaves of God. 10. And so, despise doublemindedness and rule over it in your every deed, clothing yourself with the strong and powerful faith. For faith promises all things and perfects all things, but the doublemindedness that lacks confidence in itself fails in everything that it does. 11. And so you see," he said, "that faith comes from above, from the Lord, and is very powerful. But doublemindedness is an earthly spirit from the devil and is powerless. 12. You, therefore, should serve the faith that has power and abstain from the doublemindedness that has none, and you will live to God. And everyone who thinks these things will live to God."

⁶² τὸν A L² E: add μὴ L¹

⁶³ καί γε . . . ἰσχυρούς L L: καὶ λίαν ἰσχυρούς A

⁶⁴ θυγάτηρ L L E: ἀδελφὴ A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

Ἐντολή ι'

40 (X.1)

Ἄρον ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ, φησί, τὴν λύπην· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἀδελφή ἐστὶ τῆς διψυχίας καὶ τῆς ὀξυχολίας. 2. πῶς, φημί, κύριε, ἀδελφή ἐστὶ τούτων; ἄλλο γάρ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὀξυχολία, καὶ ἄλλο διψυχία, καὶ ἄλλο λύπη. ἀσύνητος εἶ, ἄνθρωπε. οὐ νοεῖς ὅτι ἡ λύπη πάντων τῶν πνευμάτων πονηρότερα ἐστὶ καὶ δεινοτάτη τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ πνεύματα καταφθείρει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐκτρίβει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ πάλιν σώζει; 3. ἐγώ, φημί, κύριε, ἀσύνητός εἰμι, καὶ οὐ συνίω τὰς παραβολὰς ταύτας· πῶς γὰρ δύναται ἐκτρίβειν καὶ πάλιν σώζειν, οὐ νοῶ. 4. ἄκουε, φησὶν· οἱ μηδέποτε ἐρευνήσαντες περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας μηδὲ ἐπιζητήσαντες περὶ τῆς θεότητος, πιστεύσαντες δὲ μόνον, ἐμπεφυρμένοι δὲ πραγματείαις καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ φιλίαις ἐθνικαῖς καὶ ἄλλαις πολλαῖς πραγματείαις τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου· ὅσοι οὖν τούτοις πρόσκεινται,⁶⁵ οὐ νοοῦσι τὰς παραβολὰς τῆς θεότητος· ἐπισκοποῦνται γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν πράξεων καὶ καταφθείρονται καὶ γίνονται κεχερσωμένοι. 5. καθὼς οἱ ἀμπελῶνες οἱ καλοί, ὅταν ἀμελείας τύχωσι, χερσοῦνται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκανθῶν καὶ βοτανῶν ποικίλων, οὕτως οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ πιστεύσαντες⁶⁶ καὶ εἰς ταύτας τὰς πράξεις τὰς πολλὰς ἐμπίπτοντες τὰς προειρημένας, ἀποπλανῶνται ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως νοοῦσι περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἀκούσωσι

Tenth Commandment

40 (X.1)

“Remove grief [*Or: sorrow; and through chap. 42*] from yourself,” he said, “for this is the sister of both double-mindedness and irascibility.” 2. “How, Lord, is it their sister?” I asked. “For it seems to me that irascibility is one thing, doublemindedness another, and grief another.” “You are senseless, O man. Do you not understand that grief is the worst spirit of all and most to be dreaded by the slaves of God? That it corrupts a person more than any other spirit? That it both wears out the holy spirit and then again saves it?” 3. “Yes, I am senseless, Lord,” I replied, “and do not understand these parables. I do not see how it is able to wear the spirit out and then save it again.” 4. “Listen,” he said. “These who have never made careful inquiry into the truth or investigated divine matters, but merely believe, and then become mixed up with business affairs and wealth and friendships with outsiders and many other matters that pertain to this age—everyone who becomes involved with these things fails to understand the divine parables. For they are overshadowed by these other matters and are corrupted and become barren in spirit. 5. Just as good vineyards that are not tended become barren because of thorns and various weeds, so too with the people who believe but fall into these sundry activities I have mentioned. They are led astray from their understanding and perceive nothing at all about righteousness; and even

⁶⁵ ὅσοι . . . πρόσκεινται A E: om. L L

⁶⁶ πιστεύσαντες A L¹ E: add μόνον L²

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

περὶ θεότητος καὶ ἀληθείας,⁶⁷ ὁ νοῦς αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν
 πρᾶξιν αὐτῶν καταγίνεται, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως νοοῦσιν.
 6. οἱ δὲ φόβον ἔχοντες θεοῦ καὶ ἐρευνῶντες περὶ
 θεότητος⁶⁸ καὶ ἀληθείας, καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἔχοντες
 πρὸς τὸν κύριον, πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα αὐτοῖς τάχιον
 νοοῦσι καὶ συνίουσιν, ὅτι ἔχουσι τὸν φόβον τοῦ
 κυρίου ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. ὅπου γὰρ ὁ κύριος κατοικεῖ, ἐκεῖ καὶ
 σύνεσις πολλή. κολλήθητι οὖν τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ πάντα
 συνήσεις καὶ νοήσεις.

41 (X.2)

Ἄκουε οὖν, φησὶν, ἀνόητε, πῶς ἡ λύπη ἐκτρίβει τὸ
 πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ πάλιν σώζει. 2. ὅταν ὁ διψυχὸς
 ἐπιβάληται πρᾶξιν τινα, καὶ ταύτης ἀποτύχη διὰ τὴν
 διψυχίαν αὐτοῦ, ἡ λύπη αὕτη εἰσπορεύεται εἰς τὸν
 ἄνθρωπον, καὶ λυπεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον⁶⁹ καὶ ἐκτρί-
 βει αὐτό. 3. εἶτα πάλιν ἡ ὀξυχολία ὅταν κολληθῇ τῷ
 ἀνθρώπῳ περὶ πράγματός τινος, καὶ λίαν πικρανθῇ,
 πάλιν ἡ λύπη εἰσπορεύεται εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ
 ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ὀξυχολήσαντος, καὶ λυπεῖται ἐπὶ τῇ
 πράξει αὐτοῦ ἧ ἔπραξε, καὶ μετανοεῖ ὅτι πονηρὸν
 εἰργάσατο. 4. αὕτη οὖν ἡ λύπη δοκεῖ σωτηρίαν ἔχειν,
 ὅτι τὸ πονηρὸν πράξας μετενόησεν. ἀμφοτέραι οὖν αἱ
 πρά- ξεις λυποῦσι τὸ πνεῦμα.⁷⁰ ἡ μὲν διψυχία, ὅτι οὐκ
 ἐπέτυχε τῆς πράξεως αὐτῆς, ἡ δὲ ὀξυχολία λυπεῖ τὸ
 πνεῦμα, ὅτι ἔπραξε τὸ πονηρὸν. ἀμφοτέρα οὖν λυπηρά
 ἐστι τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, ἡ διψυχία καὶ ἡ ὀχυολία.

when they hear about divine matters and truth, their mind is occupied with their other concerns, and they perceive nothing at all. 6. But those who fear God and make careful inquiry into divine matters and truth, and have their hearts directed towards the Lord, quickly perceive and understand everything said to them, because they have the fear of the Lord in themselves. For where the Lord dwells, there also is great understanding. Therefore cling to the Lord, and you will understand and perceive all things.

41 (X.2)

And so listen, you foolish one,” he said, “to how grief wears out the holy spirit and then again saves it. 2. When a person who is of two minds throws himself into a certain affair and does not succeed at it, because he is of two minds, this grief enters into him, and it grieves the holy spirit and wears it out. 3. So too, with irascibility, when it clings to a person because of some matter and he becomes extremely bitter—grief again enters into the irritated person’s heart; he grieves for what he has done, and he repents because he has done evil. 4. And so this grief appears to bring salvation, because after doing what is evil the person repents. And so both things grieve the spirit: doublemindedness, because it does not accomplish what it sets out to do; and irascibility, because it does what is evil. Both doublemindedness and irascibility, therefore, grieve the holy

⁶⁷ θεότητος καὶ ἀληθείας A: *domino* L¹ (E): *iustitia* L²

⁶⁸ θεότητος A L² E: *deo* L¹

⁶⁹ ἅγιον L L E: add καὶ πάλιν σῶζει A

⁷⁰ τὸ πνεῦμα A: add τὸ ἅγιον L L E

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

5. ἄρον οὖν ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ τὴν λύπην καὶ μὴ θλίβε
τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ἐν σοὶ κατοικοῦν, μήποτε
ἐντεύξεται κατὰ σοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀποστῇ ἀπὸ σοῦ.
6. τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ δοθὲν εἰς τὴν σάρκα
ταύτην λύπην οὐχ ὑποφέρει οὐδὲ στενοχωρίαν.

42 (X.3)

Ἐνδυσαι οὖν τὴν ἰλαρότητα τὴν πάντοτε ἔχουσιν
χάριν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτον οὔσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ
ἐντρύφα ἐν αὐτῇ. πᾶς γὰρ ἰλαρὸς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὰ ἐργά-
ζεται καὶ ἀγαθὰ φρονεῖ, καὶ καταφρονεῖ τῆς λύπης.
2. ὁ δὲ λυπηρὸς ἀνὴρ πάντοτε πονηρεύεται· πρῶτον
μὲν πονηρεύεται, ὅτι λυπεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ
δοθὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἰλαρόν· δεύτερον δὲ λυπῶν τὸ
πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀνομίαν ἐργάζεται, μὴ ἐντυγχάνων
μηδὲ ἐξομολογούμενος τῷ κυρίῳ.⁷¹ πάντοτε γὰρ λυπη-
ροῦ ἀνδρὸς ἢ ἐντευξίς οὐκ ἔχει δύναμιν τοῦ ἀναβῆναι
ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. διατί, φημί, οὐκ
ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἢ ἐντευξίς τοῦ λυπου-
μένου; ὅτι, φησὶν, ἡ λύπη ἐγκάθηται εἰς τὴν καρδίαν
αὐτοῦ· μεμιγμένη οὖν ἡ λύπη μετὰ τῆς ἐντεύξεως οὐκ
ἀφίησι τὴν ἐντευξιν ἀναβῆναι καθαρὰν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσι-
αστήριον.⁷² ὥσπερ γὰρ ὄξος καὶ οἶνος μεμιγμένα ἐπὶ
τὸ αὐτὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡδονὴν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ
λύπη μεμιγμένη μετὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος τὴν αὐτὴν
ἐντευξιν οὐκ ἔχει. 4. καθάρισον οὖν σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς
λύπης τῆς πονηρᾶς ταύτης, καὶ ζήση τῷ θεῷ· καὶ

spirit. 5. And so, remove grief from yourself and do not crush the holy spirit that dwells in you; otherwise, it may petition God against you and leave you. 6. For the holy spirit of God that has been given in this flesh cannot stand either grief or distress.

42 (X.3)

Be clothed, therefore, with the cheerfulness that always conveys grace before God and that is acceptable to him, and delight in it. For every man who is cheerful does good things and thinks good things and despises grief. 2. The one who is filled with grief, on the other hand, always does what is evil. First, he does evil because he grieves the cheerful holy spirit that has been given him; second, he grieves the holy spirit by behaving lawlessly, neither praying nor making confession to the Lord. For the prayer of the man filled with grief never has the power to rise up upon the altar before God.” 3. “Why,” I asked, “does the prayer of the one filled with grief not rise up upon the altar?” “Because,” he said, “grief reclines in his heart; and so, the grief that is mixed with the petition does not allow the petition to rise up purely onto the altar. For just as vinegar and wine mixed together do not produce the same pleasure, so also grief mixed with the holy spirit does not produce the same petition. 4. Cleanse yourself, therefore, from this evil grief, and you will live to God. And all who

⁷¹ κυρίῳ A: θεῷ L² (L¹?)

⁷² θυσιαστήριον A E: add τοῦ θεοῦ L L

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

πάντες ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ ὅσοι ἂν ἀποβάλωσιν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν λύπην καὶ ἐνδύσωνται πᾶσαν ἰλαρότητα.

Ἑντολὴ ια'

43 (XI)

Ἦδειξέ μοι ἐπὶ συμψελλίου καθήμενους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἕτερον ἄνθρωπον καθήμενον ἐπὶ καθέδραν. καὶ λέγει μοι· βλέπεις τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ συμψελλίου καθημένους; βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. οὗτοι, φησί, πιστοί εἰσι, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τὴν καθέδραν ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστὶν ἀπολλύων τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ· τῶν διψύχων δὲ ἀπόλλυσιν, οὐ τῶν πιστῶν. 2. οὗτοι οὖν οἱ δίψυχοι ὡς ἐπὶ μάντιν⁷³ ἔρχονται καὶ ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτόν, τί ἄρα ἔσται αὐτοῖς· κακέϊνος ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης, μηδεμίαν ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ δύναμιν πνεύματος θείου,⁷⁴ λαλεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰ ἐπερωτήματα αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν, καὶ πληροῖ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν καθὼς αὐτοὶ βούλονται. 3. αὐτὸς γὰρ κενὸς ὢν κενὰ καὶ ἀποκρίνεται κενοῖς· ὁ γὰρ ἐὰν ἐπερωτηθῇ, πρὸς τὸ κένωμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκρίνεται. τινὰ δὲ καὶ ῥήματα ἀληθῆ λαλεῖ· ὁ γὰρ διάβολος πληροῖ αὐτὸν τῷ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι, εἴ τινα δυνήσεται ῥῆξαι τῶν δικαίων. 4. ὅσοι οὖν ἰσχυροὶ εἰσιν ἐν τῇ πίστει τοῦ κυρίου, ἐνδεδυμένοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τοῖς τοιοῦτοις πνεύμασιν οὐ κολλῶνται, ἀλλ' ἀπέχονται ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ὅσοι δὲ δίψυχοί εἰσι καὶ πυκνῶς

cast grief away from themselves and clothe themselves with all cheerfulness will live to God.”

Eleventh Commandment

43 (XI)

He showed me some people sitting on a bench, and some one else sitting on a chair. And he said to me, “Do you see the ones sitting on the bench?” “I see them, Lord,” I replied. “These people,” he said, “are faithful, and the one sitting on the chair is a false prophet who destroys the understanding of the slaves of God. But he destroys the understanding of the doubleminded, not of the faithful. 2. And so, doubleminded people come to him as if he were a soothsayer, and ask him what is about to happen to them. And that false prophet, having within himself no power of the divine spirit, speaks with them in light of the requests and evil desires they have, and he fills their souls as they themselves wish. 3. For he, being empty himself, gives empty answers to those who are empty. For whatever he is asked, he answers in a way befitting the emptiness of the person. But he also speaks some true words. For the devil fills him with his own spirit, to see if he can dash one of the upright. 4. And so, all those who are strong in the faith of the Lord and have been clothed with the truth do not cling to such spirits, but abstain from them. But all those who are of two minds and who are constantly changing their

⁷³ μάντιν Avid.: *divinum* L² (E): *divinum spiritum* L¹

⁷⁴ θείον A L¹: *sancti* L² E

μετανοοῦσι, μαντεύονται ὡς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ ἑαυτοῖς
 μείζονα ἁμαρτίαν ἐπιφέρουσιν εἰδωλολατροῦντες· ὁ
 γὰρ ἐπερωτῶν ψευδοπροφήτην⁷⁵ περὶ πράξεώς τινος
 εἰδωλολάτρης ἐστὶ καὶ κενὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ
 ἄφρων. 5. πᾶν γὰρ πνεῦμα ἀπὸ θεοῦ δοθὲν οὐκ ἐπερω-
 τᾶται, ἀλλὰ ἔχον τὴν δύναμιν τῆς θεότητος ἀφ' ἑαυ-
 τοῦ λαλεῖ πάντα, ὅτι ἄνωθ' ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως
 τοῦ θείου⁷⁶ πνεύματος. 6. τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐπερωτώ-
 μενον καὶ λαλοῦν κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 ἐπίγειόν ἐστι καὶ ἐλαφρόν, δύναμιν μὴ ἔχον· καὶ ὅλως
 οὐ λαλεῖ⁷⁷ ἐὰν μὴ ἐπερωτηθῇ. 7. πῶς οὖν, φημί, κύριε,
 ἄνθρωπος γινώσεται τίς αὐτῶν προφήτης καὶ τίς ψευ-
 δοπροφήτης ἐστίν; ἄκουε, φησί, περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν
 προφητῶν· καὶ ὥς σοι μέλλω λέγειν, οὕτω δοκιμάσεις
 τὸν προφήτην καὶ τὸν ψευδοπροφήτην. ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς
 δοκίμαζε τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἔχοντα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ
 θεῖον. 8. πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἔχων τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄνωθεν
 πραῦς ἐστὶ καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ταπεινόφρων καὶ ἀπεχό-
 μενος ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ματαίας τοῦ
 αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐνδεέστερον ποιεῖ πάντων
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνεται ἐπερω-
 τώμενος, οὐδὲ καταμόνας λαλεῖ, οὐδὲ ὅταν θέλῃ ἄν-
 θρωπος λαλεῖν, λαλεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀλλὰ τότε
 λαλεῖ, ὅταν θελήσῃ αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς λαλῆσαι. 9. ὅταν οὖν
 ἔλθῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἔχων τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον εἰς
 συναγωγὴν ἀνδρῶν δικαίων τῶν ἐχόντων πίστιν θείου
 πνεύματος, καὶ ἔντευξις γένηται πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τῆς
 συναγωγῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων, τότε ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ

minds [*Or: who are always repenting*], consult the oracle as do even the outsiders. And they bring a greater sin upon themselves by thus committing idolatry. For the one who asks a false prophet about any matter is an idolater, devoid of the truth, and foolish. 5. For no spirit given by God is consulted, but having divine power it speaks all things from its own authority, because it comes from above, from the power of the divine spirit. 6. But the spirit that, when consulted, speaks in light of human desires is earthly and insubstantial, having no power. And it does not speak at all unless it is consulted." 7. "How, then, Lord," I asked, "is a person to know which of these is a prophet and which a false prophet?" "Listen," he said, "concerning both kinds of prophet. For you will discern the prophet and the false prophet in the way I am about to tell you. You must discern the person with the divine spirit by his way of life. 8. First, the one who has the spirit that comes from above is meek, gentle, and humble; he abstains from all evil and the vain desire of this age; he makes himself more lowly than all others; and he never gives an answer to anyone when asked, nor does he speak in private. The holy spirit does not speak when the person wants to speak, but when God wants him to speak. 9. When, then, the person who has the divine spirit comes into a gathering of upright men who have the faith of the divine spirit, and a petition comes to God from the upright men who are gathered together,

⁷⁵ ψευδοπροφήτην A E: : *prophetam* L²: om. L¹

⁷⁶ θείον A L¹: *sancti* L²: om. E

⁷⁷ καὶ ὅλως οὐ λαλεῖ A L² E: *virtutem non habet in totum et multa loquitur* L¹

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

πνεύματος τοῦ προφητικοῦ⁷⁸ ὁ κείμενος ἐπ' αὐτῷ πληροῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ πλησθεὶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκείνος τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ λαλεῖ εἰς τὸ πλήθος⁷⁹ καθὼς ὁ κύριος βούλεται. 10. οὕτως οὖν φανερόν ἐστι τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς θεότητος. ὅση οὖν περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς θεότητος τοῦ κυρίου ἡ δύναμις αὕτη. 11. ἄκουε νῦν, φησί, περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἐπιγείου καὶ κενοῦ καὶ δύναμιν μὴ ἔχοντος, ἀλλὰ ὄντος μωροῦ. 12. πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκείνος ὁ δοκῶν πνεῦμα ἔχειν ὑψοῖ ἑαυτὸν καὶ θέλει πρωτοκαθεδρίαν ἔχειν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἰταμός ἐστι καὶ ἀναιδὴς καὶ πολύλαλος καὶ ἐν τρυφαίς πολλαῖς ἀναστρεφόμενος καὶ ἐν ἐτέραις πολλαῖς ἀπάταις, καὶ μισθοὺς λαμβάνων τῆς προφητείας αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ λάβῃ, οὐ προφητεύει. δύναται οὖν πνεῦμα θείον μισθοὺς λαμβάνειν καὶ προφητεύειν; οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τοῦτο ποιεῖν θεοῦ προφήτην, ἀλλὰ τῶν τοιούτων προφητῶν ἐπίγειόν ἐστι τὸ πνεῦμα. 13. εἴτα ὅλως εἰς συναγωγὴν ἀνδρῶν δικαίων οὐκ ἐγγίζει, ἀλλ' ἀποφεύγει αὐτούς. κολλᾶται δὲ τοῖς διψύχοις καὶ κενοῖς, καὶ κατὰ γωνίαν αὐτοῖς προφητεύει, καὶ ἀπατᾷ αὐτοὺς λαλῶν κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν πάντα κενῶς· κενοῖς γὰρ καὶ ἀποκρίνεται. τὸ γὰρ κενὸν σκευὸς μετὰ τῶν κενῶν συντιθέμενον οὐ θραύεται, ἀλλὰ συμφωνοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις. 14. ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ εἰς συναγωγὴν πλήρη ἀνδρῶν δικαίων ἐχόντων πνεῦμα θεότητος, καὶ ἔντευξις ἀπ' αὐτῶν γένηται, κενοῦται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκείνος, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐπίγειον⁸⁰ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου φεύγει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ κωφοῦται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκείνος

then the angel of the prophetic spirit lying upon that person fills him; and once he is filled, that one speaks in the holy spirit to the congregation, just as the Lord desires. 10. In this way the divine spirit will be evident to you. This, then, is the kind of power that the divine spirit of the Lord has. 11. Listen, now," he said, "concerning the earthly spirit that is empty and powerless, and also foolish. 12. First, the person who appears to have this spirit exalts himself and wishes to be given pride of place; and he is immediately impetuous, shameless, and garrulous, and he indulges himself with many luxuries and with many other deceptions. Moreover, he receives wages for his prophecy—without them, he does not prophesy. But can the divine spirit receive wages for its prophecies? The prophet of God cannot do this, but the spirit of these other prophets is earthly. 13. Moreover, it never comes near the gathering of upright men, but it flees them. It links up with the doubleminded and empty, and prophesies to them in a corner, deceiving them by speaking all things emptily, in light of their own desires. And it responds to those who are empty. For the empty container that is arranged with other empty containers is not broken, but is just like the others. 14. But when this person comes into a gathering filled with upright men who have the divine spirit, and a petition comes forth from them, that person becomes empty, and the earthly spirit flees from him out of fear; and that person

⁷⁸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ προφητικοῦ P^{Ox} L² E: τοῦ προφήτου
A: *divinitatis* L¹

⁷⁹ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος A L L E: om. P^{Ox}

⁸⁰ ἐπίγειον L L E: ἅγιον A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

καὶ ὅλως συνθραύεται, μηδὲν δυνάμενος λαλῆσαι.
 15. εἰς ἀποθήκην στιβάσης οἶνον ἢ ἔλαιον⁸¹
 καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς θῆς κεράμιον κενόν, καὶ πάλιν ἀπο-
 στιβάσαι θελήσης τὴν ἀποθήκην, τὸ κεράμιον ἐκείνο
 ὃ ἔθηκας κενόν, κενὸν καὶ εὐρήσεις· οὕτω καὶ οἱ
 προφῆται οἱ κενοὶ ὅταν ἔλθωσιν εἰς πνεύματα δικαί-
 ων, ὅποιοι ἦλθον, τοιοῦτοι καὶ εὐρίσκονται. 16. ἔχεις
 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν προφητῶν τὴν ζωὴν. δοκίμαζε οὖν
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῆς ζωῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν λέ-
 γοντα ἑαυτὸν πνευματοφόρον εἶναι. 17. σὺ δὲ πίστευε
 τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἔχοντι
 δύναμιν· τῷ δὲ πνεύματι τῷ ἐπιγείῳ καὶ κενῷ μηδὲν
 πίστευε, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμις οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀπὸ τοῦ
 διαβόλου γὰρ ἔρχεται. 18. ἄκουσον οὖν τὴν παρα-
 βολὴν ἣν μέλλω σοι λέγειν. λάβε λίθον καὶ βάλε εἰς
 τὸν οὐρανόν, ἵδε εἰ δύνασαι ἄψασθαι αὐτοῦ· ἢ πάλιν
 λάβε σίφωνα ὕδατος καὶ σιφώνισον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,
 ἵδε εἰ δύνασαι τρυπῆσαι τὸν οὐρανόν. 19. πῶς, φημί,
 κύριε, δύναται ταῦτα γενέσθαι; ἀδύνατα γὰρ ἀμφότε-
 ρα ταῦτα εἶρηκας. ὥς ταῦτα οὖν, φησὶν, ἀδύνατά
 ἔστιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἐπίγεια ἀδύνατά ἐστι
 καὶ ἀδρανῆ. 20. λάβε νῦν τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἄνωθεν
 ἐρχομένην. ἢ χάλαζα ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι κοκκάριον, καὶ
 ὅταν ἐπιπέσῃ ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἀνθρώπου, πῶς πόνον παρ-
 ἔχει· ἢ πάλιν λάβε τὴν σταγόνα ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κεράμου
 πίπτει χαμαὶ καὶ τρυπᾷ τὸν λίθον. 21. βλέπεις οὖν ὅτι
 τὰ ἄνωθεν ἐλάχιστα πίπτοντα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν μεγάλην
 δύναμιν ἔχουσιν· οὕτω καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον ἄνωθεν

is unable to speak and is altogether crushed, not able to say a word. 15. For if you store a batch of wine or oil in a storeroom and set an empty jar among them, and then later decide to clear out the storeroom, you will find that the jar you put there empty is empty still. So also the empty prophets: when they come among the spirits of the upright, they are found to be just as they were when they came. 16. You have now the life of both kinds of prophets. And so, from his deeds and his life discern the person who claims to bear the spirit. 17. You should trust the spirit that comes from God and has power. But do not trust at all the earthly spirit that is empty, for it has no power in itself, since it comes from the devil. 18. Listen now to the parable I am about to tell you. Take a stone and throw it at the sky; see if you can hit it. Or again, take a hose and shoot some water at the sky; see if you can put a hole in it." "How, Lord," I replied, "could these things possibly happen? Neither one is possible." 19. "Just as these things are impossible," he said, "so too earthly spirits cannot possibly do anything, but are ineffectual. 20. Consider now the power that comes from above. A hailstone is the smallest of pebbles; yet when it falls on a person's head, it causes enormous pain. Or again, consider the drop that falls from a roof tile: it can put a hole in a rock. 21. You see, then, that the smallest things that fall to earth from above have great power. So also the divine spirit that comes from above is powerful.

⁸¹ ἡ ἑλαιον A L¹ E: παλαιὸν L²

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ἐρχόμενον δυνατόν ἐστι· τούτῳ οὖν τῷ πνεύματι⁸²
πίστευε, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀπέχου.

Ἐντολὴ ιβ΄

44 (XII.1)

Λέγει μοι· ἄρον ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν πονηράν, ἔνδυσαι δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν ἀγαθὴν καὶ σεμνήν· ἐνδεδυμένος γὰρ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ταύτην μισήσεις τὴν πονηρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ χαλιναγωγήσεις αὐτὴν καθὼς βούλει· 2. ἀγρία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἡ πονηρά, καὶ δυσκόλως ἡμεροῦται· φοβερὰ γάρ ἐστι, καὶ λίαν τῇ ἀγριότητι αὐτῆς δαπανᾷ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· μάλιστα δὲ ἐὰν ἐμπέσῃ εἰς αὐτὴν δοῦλος θεοῦ καὶ μὴ ᾗ συνετός, δαπανᾶται ὑπ’ αὐτῆς δεινῶς· δαπανᾷ δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας ἔνδυμα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀγαθῆς, ἀλλὰ ἐμπεφυρμένους τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ· τούτους οὖν παραδίδωσιν εἰς θάνατον· 3. ποῖα, φημί, κύριε, ἔργα ἐστὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς πονηρᾶς τὰ παραδιδόντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς θάνατον; γνῶρισόν μοι, ἵνα ἀφέξωμαι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν· ἄκουε, φησὶν, ἐν ποίοις ἔργοις θανατοῖ ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἡ πονηρὰ τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ.

45 (XII.2)

Πάντων προέχουσα ἐπιθυμία γυναικὸς ἀλλοτρίας ἢ ἀνδρὸς⁸³ καὶ πολυτελείας πλούτου καὶ ἐδεσμάτων

Therefore trust this spirit, but abstain from the other."

Twelfth Commandment

44 (XII.1)

He said to me, "Remove from yourself every evil desire and clothe yourself with the desire that is good and reverent. For when you clothe yourself with this desire you will hate the evil desire and bring it under control, just as you wish. 2. The evil desire is wild and difficult to tame. For it is frightful and it greatly exhausts people by its wildness. In particular, it dreadfully exhausts a slave of God who falls into it out of ignorance. And it exhausts all those who are not clothed with good desire, but are enmeshed in this age. People like this it delivers over to death." 3. "Lord," I asked, "what are the works of evil desire that deliver people over to death? Show them to me, that I may avoid them." "Listen," he said, "to the works used by evil desire to hand the slaves of God over to death.

45 (XII.2)

"Chief of all is the desire for someone else's wife or husband, and for abundant wealth, for many extravagant

⁸² τῷ πνεύματι A E: om. L L

⁸³ ἀλλοτρίας ἢ ἀνδρὸς A L L: om. E

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

πολλῶν ματαίων καὶ μεθυσμάτων⁸⁴ καὶ ἐτέρων τρυφῶν πολλῶν καὶ μωρῶν· πᾶσα γὰρ τρυφή μωρά ἐστι καὶ κενὴ τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. 2. αὗται οὖν αἱ ἐπιθυμῖαι πονηραὶ εἰσι, θανατοῦσαι τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἡ πονηρὰ τοῦ διαβόλου θυγάτηρ ἐστίν. ἀπέχεσθαι οὖν δεῖ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν πονηρῶν, ἵνα ἀποσχόμενοι ζήσητε τῷ θεῷ. 3. ὅσοι δὲ ἂν κατακυριευθῶσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἀντισταθῶσιν αὐταῖς, ἀποθανοῦνται εἰς τέλος. θανάτωδεις γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ ἐπιθυμῖαι⁸⁵ αὗται. 4. σὺ οὖν ἔνδυσαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ καθοπλισάμενος τὸν φόβον τοῦ κυρίου ἀντίστηθι αὐταῖς. ὁ γὰρ φόβος τοῦ θεοῦ κατοικεῖ ἐν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῇ ἀγαθῇ. ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἡ πονηρὰ ἐὰν ἴδῃ σε καθωπλισμένον τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθεστηκότα αὐτῇ, φεύξεται ἀπὸ σοῦ μακράν, καὶ οὐκέτι σοι ὀφθήσεται φοβούμενη τὰ ὄπλα σου. 5. σὺ οὖν νῆκος λαβὼν καὶ στεφανωθείς κατ' αὐτῆς ἐλθὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτῇ⁸⁶ τὸ νῆκος ὃ ἔλαβες· δούλευσον αὐτῇ καθὼς αὐτὴ βούλεται. ἐὰν δουλεύσης τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῇ ἀγαθῇ καὶ ὑποταγῆς αὐτῇ, δυνήσῃ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς πονηρᾶς κατακυριεῦσαι καὶ ὑποτάξαι αὐτὴν καθὼς βούλει.

⁸⁴ μεθυσμάτων A E; μεθύσματος πολλοῦ L¹; om. L²

⁸⁵ ἐπιθυμῖαι L L E; add εἰς τέλος A

⁸⁶ αὐτῇ A L² E; deo L¹

foods, drinking bouts, and many other such foolish luxuries. For every luxury is foolish and empty for the slaves of God. 2. And so these desires are evil, because they bring death to the slaves of God. For this evil desire is the daughter of the devil. You must, therefore, abstain from evil desires. By doing so, you will live to God. 3. But whoever is dominated by these and does not resist them will ultimately die. For these desires are deadly. 4. And so you should be clothed with the desire of righteousness, and resist these other desires by being armed with the fear of the Lord. For the fear of God dwells in good desire. If evil desire should see you armed with the fear of God, actively resisting it, it will flee far away and no longer appear before you for fear of your weapons. 5. And so, when you receive the victory against it and are crowned, come to the desire of righteousness, and hand over to it the victory you received; serve as its slave, just as it wishes. If you are enslaved to the good desire and submit to it, you can overcome evil desire and dominate it, just as you wish."

Ἦθελον, φημί, κύριε, γινῶναι ποίοις τρόποις με δεῖ δουλεύσαι τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῇ ἀγαθῇ. ἄκουε, φησὶν· ἔργασαι δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀρετὴν, ἀλήθειαν καὶ φόβον κυρίου, πίστιν καὶ πραότητα, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὁμοιά ἐστιν ἀγαθά. ταῦτα ἐργαζόμενος εὐάρεστος ἔσῃ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ζήσῃ αὐτῷ· καὶ πᾶς ὃς ἂν δουλεύσῃ τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῇ ἀγαθῇ, ζήσεται τῷ θεῷ. 2. συνετέλεσεν οὖν τὰς ἐντολὰς τὰς δώδεκα καὶ λέγει μοι· ἔχεις τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας· πορεύου ἐν αὐταῖς, καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας παρακάλει ἵνα ἡ μετάνοια αὐτῶν καθαρὰ γένηται τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν. 3. τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην ἣν σοι δίδωμι τέλει ἐπιμελῶς, καὶ πολὺ ἐργάσῃ· εὐρήσεις γὰρ χάριν ἐν τοῖς μέλλουσι μετανοεῖν καὶ πεισθήσονται σου τοῖς ῥήμασιν· ἐγὼ γὰρ μετὰ σοῦ ἔσομαι καὶ ἀναγκάσω αὐτοὺς πεισθῆναί σοι.⁸⁷ 4. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, αἱ ἐντολαὶ αὗται μεγάλαι καὶ καλαὶ καὶ ἔνδοξοί εἰσι καὶ δυνάμεναι εὐφρᾶναι καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ δυναμένου τηρῆσαι αὐτάς. οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ δύνανται αἱ ἐντολαὶ αὗται ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου φυλαχθῆναι, διότι σκληραὶ εἰσι λίαν. 5. ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει μοι· ἔὰν σὺ σεαυτῷ προθῇς ὅτι δύνανται φυλαχθῆναι, εὐκόπως αὐτὰς φυλάξεις, καὶ οὐκ ἔσονται σκληραί.⁸⁸ ἔὰν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἤδη ἀναβῇ μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτὰς ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου φυλαχθῆναι, οὐ φυλάξεις αὐτάς. 6. νῦν δέ σοι λέγω· ἔὰν ταύτας μὴ φυλάξῃς, ἀλλὰ παρενθυμηθῇς, οὐχ ἔξεις σωτηρίαν,⁸⁹

46 (XII.3)

“I want to know, Lord,” I said, “in what ways I must serve as the slave of good desire.” “Listen,” he said. “Engage in righteousness and virtue, truth and the fear of the Lord, faith and meekness, and every good thing like them. When you do these things you will be an acceptable slave of God and will live to him. And everyone enslaved to good desire will live to God.” 2. And so he completed the twelve commandments and said to me, “You have these commandments. Proceed in them and give encouragement to those who hear them, that their repentance may be pure all the remaining days of their lives. 3. Diligently perform this ministry I am giving you, and work hard at it. For you will find grace among those who are about to repent, and they will be persuaded by your words. For I will be with you and will compel them to be persuaded by you.” 4. I said to him, “Lord, these commandments are great, good, and glorious, and they can lift the heart of the one who is able to guard them. But I do not know if anyone can do so, since they are so difficult.” 5. He answered me, “If in your own mind you think they can be guarded, you will do so easily, and they will not be difficult. But if you have already decided in your heart that no one can guard them, you will not do so. 6. And now I say to you, if you do not guard these commandments, but neglect them, you will not be saved,

⁸⁷ σοί L¹: add Ἀρχή A: add *finita sunt mandata duodecim. initium similitudinum. similitudo prima* E

⁸⁸ καὶ . . . σκληραί A L¹ E: om. C²

⁸⁹ σωτηρίαν A L¹ E: ζώην C²

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

οὔτε τὰ τέκνα σου οὔτε ὁ οἶκός σου, ἐπεὶ ἤδη' σεαυτῷ
κέκρικας τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας ὑπὸ
ἄνθρωπον φυλαχθῆναι.

47 (XII.4)

Καὶ ταῦτά μοι λίαν ὀργίλως ἐλάλησεν, ὥστε με συγ-
χυθῆναι καὶ λίαν αὐτὸν φοβηθῆναι. ἡ μορφή γὰρ
αὐτοῦ ἡλλοιώθη, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἄνθρωπον ὑπ-
ενεγκεῖν τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ. 2. ἰδὼν δέ με τεταραγμένον
ὅλον καὶ συγκεχυμένον ἤρξατό μοι ἐπιεικέστερον καὶ
ίλαρώτερον⁹⁰ λαλεῖν, καὶ λέγει· ἄφρον, ἀσύνετε καὶ
δίψυχε, οὐ νοεῖς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ, πῶς μεγάλη ἐστὶ
καὶ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ θαυμαστή, ὅτι ἔκτισε τὸν κόσμον
ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ
ὑπέταξε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν πᾶσαν ἔδωκεν
αὐτῷ τοῦ κατακυριεύειν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν πάν-
των;⁹¹ 3. εἰ οὖν, φησί, πάντων ὁ ἄνθρωπος κύριός ἐστι
τῶν κτισμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πάντων κατακυριεύει, οὐ
δύναται καὶ τούτων τῶν ἐντολῶν κατακυριεύσαι; δύνα-
ται, φησί, πάντων καὶ⁹² πασῶν⁹³ τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων
κατακυριεύσαι ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἔχων τὸν κύριον ἐν τῇ
καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. 4. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν ἔχοντες τὸν
κύριον, τὴν δὲ καρδίαν αὐτῶν πεπωρωμένην, καὶ
μακρὰν ὄντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου,⁹⁴ ἐκείνοις αἱ ἐντολαὶ
αὐταὶ σκληραὶ εἰσι καὶ δύσβατοι. 5. θέσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς,
οἱ κενοὶ καὶ ἐλαφροὶ ὄντες ἐν τῇ πίστει, τὸν κύριον
ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ γνώσεσθε ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστιν

nor will your children or household, since you have already judged in your own mind that no one can guard them.”

47 (XII.4)

And when he said these things he was so angry with me that I was unnerved and extremely afraid of him. For his appearance changed, so that no one could possibly withstand his anger. 2. But when he saw me so upset and unnerved he began speaking to me more gently and cheerfully, and he said, “You foolish, senseless, and double-minded man! Do you not perceive the glory of God, how it is great and strong and marvelous? For he created the world for the sake of humans and subjected all of his creation to them, and gave them all authority to rule over everything under the sky. 3. If then,” he said, “humans are the masters of all God’s creatures and rule over all, can they not rule over these commandments as well? So long as they have the Lord in their hearts,” he said, “humans can indeed rule over everything and over all these commandments. 4. But those who have the Lord on their lips but have hardened their hearts, who are distant from the Lord, to them these commandments are difficult and hard to walk in. 5. And so, all of you who are empty and insubstantial in faith, place the Lord in your hearts and you will real-

⁹⁰ καὶ ἡλαρώτερον L¹ (E C²): om. A

⁹¹ τῶν . . . πάντων A E C²: *horum mandatorum* L¹

⁹² πάντων καὶ A E: om. L¹ C²

⁹³ πασῶν A L¹ E: om. C²

⁹⁴ κυρίου L¹: θεοῦ A C²

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

εὐκοπώτερον τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων, οὔτε γλυκύτερον, οὔτε ἡμερώτερον.⁹⁵ 6. ἐπιστράφητε ὑμεῖς οἱ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς πορευόμενοι τοῦ διαβόλου, ταῖς δυσκόλοις καὶ πικραῖς καὶ ἀγρίαις καὶ ἀσελγέσι, καὶ μὴ φοβήθητε τὸν διάβολον, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμις οὐκ ἔστι καθ' ὑμῶν. 7. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν, ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας ὁ κατακυριεύων αὐτοῦ. ὁ διάβολος μόνον φόβον ἔχει, ὁ δὲ φόβος αὐτοῦ τόνον οὐκ ἔχει· μὴ φοβήθητε οὖν αὐτόν, καὶ φεύζεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν.

48 (XII.5)

Λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, ἄκουσόν μου ὀλίγων ῥημάτων. λέγε, φησί, ὁ βούλει. ὁ μὲν ἄνθρωπος, φημί, κύριε, πρόθυμός ἐστι τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ φυλάσσειν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὁ μὴ αἰτούμενος παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἵνα ἐνδυναμωθῇ⁹⁶ ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποταγῇ αὐταῖς· ἀλλ' ὁ διάβολος σκληρός ἐστι καὶ καταδυναστεύει αὐτῶν. 2. οὐ δύναται, φησί, καταδυναστεύειν τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας ἐλπιζόντων ἐπ' αὐτόν. δύναται ὁ διάβολος ἀντιπαλαῖσαι, καταπαλαῖσαι δὲ οὐ δύναται. ἐὰν οὖν ἀντισταθῇτε αὐτῷ, νικηθεὶς φεύζεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν κατησχυμμένος. ὅσοι δέ, φησὶν, ἀπόκενοί εἰσι, φοβοῦνται τὸν διάβολον ὡς δύναμιν ἔχοντα.⁹⁷ 3. ὅταν ὁ ἄνθρωπος κεράμια ἱκανώτατα γεμίσῃ οἶνον καλοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κεραμίοις ἐκείνοις ὀλίγα ἀπόκενα ᾗ, ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τὰ κεράμια καὶ οὐ κατανοεῖ τὰ πλήρη· οἶδε γὰρ ὅτι πλήρη εἰσὶ· κατανοεῖ

ize that there is nothing easier than these commandments, nor sweeter nor gentler. 6. You who are proceeding in the commandments of the devil, which are hard, bitter, wild, and licentious, turn around; and do not fear the devil, because there is no power in him against you. 7. For I will be with you, I the angel of repentance who rules over him. The devil can cause only fear, but his fear has no force. And so do not fear him, and he will flee from you.”

48 (XII.5)

I said to him, “Lord, listen to a few words from me.” “Say what you wish,” he replied. “Lord,” I said, “everyone is eager to guard the commandments of the Lord, and there is no one who does not ask from the Lord to be empowered in his commandments and to be subject to them. But the devil is hard and he overpowers them.” 2. “He is not able,” he said, “to overpower the slaves of God who hope in him with their whole heart. The devil can wrestle with them, but he cannot win the match. If then you resist him, once he is conquered he will flee from you in humiliation. But whoever is partly empty,” he said, “fears the devil as one who has power. 3. When someone fills a large number of jars with good wine, and among them are a few that are partly empty, he comes to the jars and gives no thought to the ones that are full. For he knows they are full. He is con-

⁹⁵ ἡμερώτερον A: sanctius L¹: iustius E

⁹⁶ ἐνδυναμωθῇ (E L¹): μὴ δυναμωθῇ A

⁹⁷ ἔχοντα A E: add *diabolus autem temptat servos dei, et si invenerit vacuum, exterminat* L¹

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

δὲ τὰ ἀπόκενα, φοβούμενος, μήποτε ὥξισαν· ταχὺ γὰρ τὰ ἀπόκενα κεράμια ὀξίζουσι καὶ ἀπόλλυται ἢ ἡδονὴ τοῦ οἴνου. 4. οὕτω καὶ ὁ διάβολος ἔρχεται ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκπειράζων αὐτούς. ὅσοι οὖν πλήρεις εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ πίστει, ἀνθεστήκασιν αὐτῷ ἰσχυρῶς, κακείνος ἀποχωρεῖ ἀπ' αὐτῶν μὴ ἔχων τόπον, ποῦ εἰσέλθῃ. ἔρχεται οὖν τότε πρὸς τοὺς ἀποκένους καὶ ἔχων τόπον εἰσπορεύεται εἰς αὐτούς, καὶ ὁ δὲ βούλεται ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐργάζεται, καὶ γίνονται αὐτῷ ὑπόδουλοι.

49 (XII.6)

Ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω, ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας· μὴ φοβήθητε τὸν διάβολον. ἀπεστάλην γάρ, φησί, μεθ' ὑμῶν εἶναι τῶν μετανοούντων ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἰσχυροποιῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ πίστει. 2. πιστεύσατε οὖν τῷ θεῷ ὑμεῖς οἱ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν ἀπεγνωκότες τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν καὶ προστιθέντες ἁμαρτίαις καὶ καταβαρύνοντες τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν, ὅτι, ἐὰν ἐπιστραφήτε πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ ἐργάσησθε τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν καὶ δουλεύσητε αὐτῷ ὀρθῶς⁹⁸ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ, ποιήσει ἵασιν τοῖς προτέροις ὑμῶν ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ ἔξετε δύναμιν τοῦ κατακυριεύσαι τῶν ἔργων τοῦ διαβόλου. τὴν δὲ ἀπειλὴν τοῦ διαβόλου ὅλως μὴ φοβήθητε· ἄτονος γάρ ἐστιν ὥσπερ νεκροῦ νεύρα. 3. ἀκούσατε οὖν μου καὶ φοβήθητε τὸν πάντα

cerned for the ones that are partly empty, fearing they might turn to vinegar. For the jars that are partly empty quickly turn to vinegar, and the quality of the wine is destroyed. 4. So also the devil comes against all the slaves of God to put them to the test. All those who are full of faith strongly resist him; and he leaves them, since he has no room to enter. He comes then to those who are partly empty, and because there is room, he enters them; and he does whatever he wishes in them, and they become subservient to him.

49 (XII.6)

“And I, the angel of repentance, say to all of you: Do not fear the devil. For I have been sent,” he said, “to be with you who repent from your whole heart and to strengthen your faith. 2. You who have despaired of your life because of your sins, and increased your sins, and overburdened your life—you should trust in God. For if you turn to the Lord with your whole heart and do righteousness the rest of your days, serving him properly according to his will, he will heal your former sins. And you will be empowered to rule over the works of the devil. But do not fear the devil’s threat at all, for he is as weak as a tendon on a corpse. 3. Listen to me and fear the one who can do all things, who

⁹⁸ ὁρθῶς L²: om. A L¹

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

δυνάμενον,⁹⁹ σῶσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι, καὶ τηρεῖτε τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας, καὶ ζήσεσθε τῷ θεῷ. 4. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, νῦν ἐνεδυναμώθην ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς δικαιώμασι τοῦ κυρίου, ὅτι σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ. καὶ οἶδα, ὅτι συγκόψεις τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ διαβόλου πᾶσαν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ κατακυριεύσομεν καὶ κατισχύσομεν πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐλπίζω, κύριε, δύνασθαί με τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας, ἃς ἐντέταλσαι, τοῦ κυρίου ἐνδυναμοῦντος φυλάξαι. 5. φυλάξεις, φησίν, ἐὰν ἡ καρδιά σου καθαρά γένηται πρὸς κύριον· καὶ πάντες δὲ φυλάξουσιν, ὅσοι ἂν καθαρίσωσιν ἑαυτῶν τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ τῶν ματαίων ἐπιθυμιῶν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, καὶ ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ.

ΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΑΙ ΑΣ ΕΛΑΛΗΣΕ ΜΕΤ' ΕΜΟΤ¹

50 (I)

Λέγει μοι· οἶδατε, φησίν, ὅτι ἐπὶ ξένης κατοικεῖτε ὑμεῖς οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ·² ἡ γὰρ πόλις ὑμῶν μακρὰν ἐστίν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης· εἰ οὖν οἶδατε, φησί, τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν, ἐν ᾗ μέλλετε κατοικεῖν, τί ὧδε ὑμεῖς ἐτοιμάζετε ἀγροὺς καὶ παρατάξεις πολυτελεῖς καὶ οἰκοδομὰς καὶ οἰκήματα μάταια; 2. ταῦτα οὖν ὁ ἐτοιμάζων εἰς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν οὐ δύναται ἐπανακάμψαι εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν. 3. ἄφρον καὶ δίψυχε καὶ ταλαί-

⁹⁹ τὸν πάντα δυνάμενον A: *dominum* (add *omnipotentem* L¹): *qui potest* L L

both saves and destroys. Keep these commandments, and you will live to God.” 4. I said to him, “Lord, now I have been empowered in all the upright demands of the Lord, because you are with me. And I know that you will shatter all the power of the devil and we will rule over him and overpower all of his works. And I hope, Lord, to be able to guard these commandments that you have given, while the Lord gives me strength.” 5. “You will guard them,” he said, “if your heart is pure before the Lord. And all who purify their hearts from the vain desires of this age will also guard them, and live to God.”

THE PARABLES THAT HE SPOKE WITH ME

50 (I)

He said to me, “You know that you slaves of God are living in a foreign land. For your own city is a long way from this one. If, then,” he said, “you know your own city, where you are about to live, why are you preparing fields, expensive furnishings, buildings, and pointless rooms for yourselves here? 2. Anyone who prepares these things in this city, therefore, cannot return to his own city. 3. You foolish,

¹ παραβολαὶ αὖς ἐλάλησε μετ’ ἐμοῦ A: *incipiunt similitudines* (add *decem* L²) *quas mecum locutus est* L L: add *similitudo prima* L²: om. E ² θεοῦ A L² E: κυρίου L¹

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

παυρε ἄνθρωπε, οὐ νοεῖς, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἀλλότριά
 εἰσι καὶ ὑπ' ἐξουσίαν ἐτέρου εἰσίν; ἐρεῖ γὰρ ὁ κύριος
 τῆς πόλεως ταύτης· οὐ θέλω σε κατοικεῖν εἰς τὴν
 πόλιν μου, ἀλλ' ἐξέλθε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, ὅτι τοῖς
 νόμοις μου οὐ χρᾶσαι. 4. σὺ οὖν ἔχων ἀγρούς καὶ
 οἰκήσεις καὶ ἐτέρας ὑπάρξεις πολλὰς, ἐκβαλλόμενος
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τί ποιήσεις σου τὸν ἀγρὸν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν
 καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὅσα ἡτοίμασας σεαυτῷ; λέγει γάρ σοι
 δικαίως ὁ κύριος τῆς χώρας ταύτης· ἢ τοῖς νόμοις μου
 χρῶ ἢ ἐκχώρει ἐκ τῆς χώρας μου. 5. σὺ οὖν τί μέλλεις
 ποιεῖν, ἔχων νόμον ἐν τῇ σῇ πόλει; ἔνεκεν τῶν ἀγρῶν
 σου καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ὑπάρξεως τὸν νόμον σου πάντως
 ἀπαρνήσῃ καὶ πορεύσῃ τῷ νόμῳ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης;
 βλέπε μὴ ἀσύμφορόν ἐστιν ἀπαρνήσῃ τὸν νόμον
 σου· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐπανακάμψαι θελήσῃς εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 σου, οὐ μὴ παραδεχθήσῃ, ὅτι ἀπηρνήσω τὸν νόμον
 τῆς πόλεως σου, καὶ ἐκκλεισθήσῃ ἀπ' αὐτῆς. 6. βλέπε
 οὖν σύ· ὡς ἐπὶ ξένης κατοικῶν μηδὲν πλεον ἐτοίμαζε
 σεαυτῷ εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀντάρκειαν τὴν ἀρκετήν σοι, καὶ
 ἔτοιμος γίνου, ἵνα, ὅταν θέλῃς³ ὁ δεσπότης τῆς πόλεως
 ταύτης ἐκβαλεῖν σε ἀντιταξάμενον τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ,
 ἐξέλθῃς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέλθῃς ἐν τῇ πόλει
 σου καὶ τῷ σῷ νόμῳ χρήσῃ ἀνυβρίστως ἀγαλλιῶ-
 μενος.⁴ 7. βλέπετε οὖν ὑμεῖς οἱ δουλεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ⁵
 καὶ ἔχοντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν· ἐργάζεσθε τὰ ἔργα
 τοῦ θεοῦ μνημονεύοντες τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν
 ἐπαγγελιῶν ὧν ἐπηγγείλατο, καὶ πιστεύσατε αὐτῷ,
 ὅτι ποιήσει αὐτάς, ἐὰν αἱ ἐντολαὶ αὐτοῦ φυλαχθῶσιν.

PARABLES 50 (I)

double-minded, and miserable person! Do you not understand that all these things belong to another and are under someone else's control? For the ruler of this city will say, 'I do not want you living in my city; leave it, because you are not living by my laws.' 4. And so, you who have fields and houses and many other possessions—when he casts you out, what will you do with your field and house and whatever else you have prepared for yourself? For the ruler of this country rightly says to you, 'Either live by my laws or leave my country.' 5. And so what will you do, you who have a law from your own city? Will you completely renounce your own law for the sake of your fields and whatever else you own, and follow the law of the city you are in now? Take care, because renouncing your law may be against your own interests. For if you want to return to your own city, you will not be welcomed, because you have renounced its law; and you will be shut out of it. 6. And so take care. Since you are dwelling in a foreign land, fix nothing up for yourself except what is absolutely necessary; and be ready, so that when the master of this city wants to banish you for not adhering to his law, you can leave his city and go to your own, and live according to your own law gladly, suffering no mistreatment. 7. Take care, then, you who are enslaved to the Lord and have him in your heart. Do the works of God, remembering his commandments and the promises he made; and trust in him, because he will do these things, if his commandments are

³ θέλη L L: ἔλθη A

⁴ ἀνυβρίστως ἀγαλλιώμενος L L E: ἀνυβρίστως καὶ ἀγαλλιωμένως A ⁵ κυρίῳ A E: deo L L

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

8. ἀντὶ ἀγρῶν οὖν ἀγοράζετε ψυχὰς θλιβομένας, καθά τις δυνατός ἐστι, καὶ χήρας καὶ ὀρφανοὺς ἐπισκέπτεσθε καὶ μὴ παραβλέπετε αὐτούς, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς παρατάξεις πάσας εἰς τοιούτους ἀγροὺς καὶ οἰκίας δαπανᾶτε, ἃς ἐλάβετε παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. 9. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπλούτισεν ὑμᾶς ὁ δεσπότης, ἵνα ταύτας τὰς διακονίας τελέσητε αὐτῷ· πολὺ βέλτιόν ἐστι τοιούτους ἀγροὺς ἀγοράζειν καὶ κτήματα καὶ οἴκους, οὓς εὐρήσεις ἐν τῇ πόλει σου, ὅταν ἐπιδημήσης εἰς αὐτήν. 10. αὕτη ἡ πολυτέλεια καλὴ καὶ ἱλαρά, λύπην μὴ ἔχουσα μηδὲ φόβον, ἔχουσα δὲ χαράν. τὴν οὖν πολυτέλειαν τῶν ἐθνῶν μὴ πράσσετε·⁶ ἀσύμφορον γάρ ἐστιν ὑμῖν τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. 11. τὴν δὲ ἰδίαν πολυτέλειαν πράσσετε, ἐν ᾗ δύνασθε χαρῆναι· καὶ μὴ παραχαράσσετε μηδὲ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου ἄψησθε μηδὲ ἐπιθυμεῖτε αὐτοῦ· πονηρὸν γάρ ἐστιν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν.⁷ τὸ δὲ σὸν ἔργον ἐργάζου, καὶ σωθήσῃ.

Ἄλλη παραβολή⁸

51 (II)

Περιπατοῦντός μου εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν καὶ κατανοοῦντος πετελέαν καὶ ἄμπελον, καὶ διακρίνοντος περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν, φανεροῦταί μοι ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ λέγει· τί σὺ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ζητεῖς περὶ τῆς πετελέας καὶ τῆς ἀμπέλου; συζητῶ, φημί, κύριε, ὅτι εὐπρεπέσταταί εἰσιν ἀλλήλαις. 2. ταῦτα τὰ δύο δένδρα, φησὶν, εἰς τύπον κεῖνται τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. ἤθελον, φημί,

guarded. 8. Instead of fields, then, purchase souls that have been afflicted, insofar as you can, and take care of widows and orphans and do not neglect them; spend your wealth and all your furnishings for such fields and houses as you have received from God. 9. For this is why the Master made you rich, that you may carry out these ministries for him. It is much better to purchase the fields, goods, and houses you find in your own city when you return to it. 10. This kind of extravagance is good and makes one glad; it has no grief or fear, but joy instead. And so, do not participate in the extravagance sought by outsiders; for it is of no profit for you who are slaves of God. 11. But participate in your own extravagance in which you can rejoice. And do not counterfeit or touch what belongs to another, or desire it. For it is evil to desire someone else's goods. But do your own work, and you will be saved."

Another Parable

51 (II)

While I was walking in the field and considering an elm tree and a vine, reflecting on them and their fruits, the shepherd appeared to me and said, "Why are you asking yourself about the elm tree and the vine?" "I am thinking, Lord," I replied, "that they are extremely well suited for one another." 2. "These two trees," he replied, "symbolize the slaves of God." "I would like to know," I said, "what

⁶ μὴ πράσσετε A E: *nolite cupere* L¹ (L²)

⁷ πονηρὸν . . . ἐπιθυμεῖν A E L²: om. L¹

⁸ ἄλλη παραβολή L¹: ἀρχὴ ἄλλης παραβολῆς A: *similitudo secunda* L²: *initium* E

γινῶναι τὸν τύπον τῶν δένδρων τούτων ὧν λέγεις.
 βλέπεις, φησί, τὴν πτελέαν καὶ τὴν ἄμπελον; βλέπω,
 φημί, κύριε. 3. ἡ ἄμπελος, φησὶν, αὕτη καρπὸν φέρει,
 ἡ δὲ πτελέα ξύλον ἄκαρπὸν ἐστίν· ἀλλ' ἡ ἄμπελος
 αὕτη ἐὰν μὴ ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν πτελέαν, οὐ δύναται
 καρποφορῆσαι πολὺ ἐρριμμένη χαμαί, καὶ ὃν φέρει
 καρπὸν, σεσηπότα φέρει μὴ κρεμαμένη ἐπὶ τῆς πτε-
 λέας. ὅταν οὖν ἐπιρριφῇ ἡ ἄμπελος ἐπὶ τὴν πτελέαν,
 καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῆς φέρει καρπὸν καὶ παρὰ τῆς πτελέας.
 4. βλέπεις οὖν, ὅτι καὶ ἡ πτελέα πολὺν καρπὸν δίδω-
 σιν, οὐκ ἐλάσσονα τῆς ἀμπέλου, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πλεί-
 ονα. πῶς, φημί, κύριε, πλείονα;⁹ ὅτι, φησὶν, ἡ ἄμπελος
 κρεμαμένη ἐπὶ τὴν πτελέαν τὸν καρπὸν πολὺν καὶ
 καλὸν δίδωσιν, ἐρριμμένη δὲ χαμαὶ ὀλίγον καὶ
 σαπρὸν φέρει. αὕτη οὖν ἡ παραβολὴ εἰς τοὺς δούλους
 τοῦ θεοῦ κεῖται, εἰς πτωχὸν καὶ πλούσιον. 5. πῶς,
 φημί, κύριε, γνώρισόν μοι. ἄκουε, φησὶν· ὁ μὲν
 πλούσιος ἔχει χρήματα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν κύριον πτω-
 χεύει, περισπώμενος περὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ
 λίαν¹⁰ μικρὰν ἔχει τὴν ἔντευξιν καὶ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν
 πρὸς τὸν κύριον, καὶ ἣν ἔχει, βληχρὰν καὶ μικρὰν καὶ
 ἄλλην¹¹ μὴ ἔχουσιν δύναμιν. ὅταν οὖν ἐπαναπαῇ¹²
 ἐπὶ τὸν πένητα ὁ πλούσιος καὶ χορηγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ
 δέοντα, πιστεύει ὅτι ἐὰν ἐργάσῃται εἰς τὸν πένητα
 δυνήσεται τὸν μισθὸν εὐρεῖν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ· ὅτι ὁ πένης
 πλούσιός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ἐντεύξει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξομο-
 λογῇ,¹³ καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχει παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἡ
 ἔντευξις αὐτοῦ. ἐπιχορηγεῖ οὖν ὁ πλούσιος τῷ πένητι

these two trees you are speaking about symbolize.” “You see,” he said, “the elm and the vine?” “I see them, Lord,” I replied. 3. “This vine,” he said, “bears fruit; but the elm is a tree that does not. Yet if this vine did not grow up onto the elm, it could not bear much fruit, since it would be lying on the ground, and the fruit it bore would be rotten, since it would not be clinging to the elm. And so, when the vine attaches to the elm, it bears fruit both of itself and because of the elm. 4. And so you see that the elm also gives much fruit—no less than the vine, but rather more.” “How does it bear more, Lord” I asked. “Because,” he said, “it is by clinging to the elm that the vine gives an abundance of good fruit; but when it is lying on the ground it bears just a little rotten fruit. And so this parable applies to the slaves of God, the poor and the rich.” 5. “How so, Lord?” I asked. “Explain it to me.” “Listen,” he said. “The rich person has money, but is poor towards the Lord, since he is distracted by his wealth. The prayer and confession he makes to the Lord are very small—weak, small, and of no real effect. And so, when the rich person depends upon the one who is poor and supplies him with what he needs, he believes that by helping the one who is poor he will find his recompense before God. For the poor person is rich in his petition and confession, and his petition has a great effect before God. And so the rich person supplies everything to the one who

⁹ πῶς . . . πλείονα L¹ E C²; om. A L²

¹⁰ λίαν POx A L¹; om. L² E C²

¹¹ ἄλλην cj. Lake: α[.]ην POx; ἀνὸς A: *apud dominum* L²: ἄγνῃν cj. Dibelius: ἄνω cj. Tischendorf: om. L¹ E C²

¹² ἐπαναπαῖ POx E C² (L²): ἀναπλῆ A: om. L¹

¹³ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξομολογήσει A E C²; om. L L

πάντα ἀδιστάκτως· 6. ὁ πένης οὖν ἐπιχορηγούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου ἐντυγχάνει τῷ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶν αὐτῷ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ διδόντος αὐτῷ· κακείνος ἔτι ἐπισπουδάξει¹⁴ περὶ τοῦ πένητος, ἵνα ἀδιάλειπτος γένηται ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ· οἶδε γάρ, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ πένητος ἔντευξις προσδεκτή ἐστίν καὶ πλουσία πρὸς κύριον.¹⁵ 7. ἀμφότεροι οὖν τὸ ἔργον τελοῦσιν· ὁ μὲν πένης ἐργάζεται τῇ ἐντεύξει, ἐν ᾗ πλουτεῖ, ἣν ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου· ταύτην ἀποδίδωσι τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ ἐπιχορηγοῦντι αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ πλούσιος ὡσαύτως τὸ πλοῦτος, ὃ ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ἀδιστάκτως παρέχεται τῷ πένητι. καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον μέγα ἐστίν καὶ δεκτὸν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι συνήκεν ἐπὶ τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡργάσατο εἰς τὸν πένητα ἐκ τῶν δωρημάτων τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐτέλεσεν τὴν διακονίαν ὀρθῶς. 8. παρὰ τοῖς οὖν ἀνθρώποις ἡ πτελέα δοκεῖ καρπὸν μὴ φέρειν, καὶ οὐκ οἶδασιν οὐδὲ νοοῦσιν ὅτι, ὅταν ἀβροχία γένηται, ἡ πτελέα ἔχουσα ὕδωρ τρέφει τὴν ἄμπελον, καὶ ἡ ἄμπελος ἀδιάλειπτον ἔχουσα τὸ ὕδωρ διπλοῦν τὸν καρπὸν ἀποδίδωσιν, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πτελέας. οὕτως καὶ οἱ πένητες ὑπὲρ τῶν πλουσίων ἐντυγχάνοντες πρὸς τὸν κύριον πληροφοροῦσι τὸ πλοῦτος αὐτῶν, καὶ πάλιν οἱ πλούσιοι χορηγοῦντες τοῖς πένησι τὰ δέοντα πληροφοροῦσι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν. 9. γίνονται οὖν ἀμφότεροι κοινωνοὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ δικαίου. ταῦτα οὖν ὁ ποιῶν οὐκ ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἔσται γεγραμ-

is poor, without hesitation. 6. And then the poor person, having his needs supplied by the one who is rich, prays to God and thanks him for the one who has given him what he needs. And that one becomes even more eager to help out the poor person, so that he may lack nothing in his life. For he knows that the petition of the poor person is acceptable and rich before the Lord. 7. And so both accomplish their work. The poor person works at his prayer in which he is rich and which he received from the Lord; and he gives it back to the Lord who supplied it to him in the first place. So too the rich person does not hesitate to supply his wealth to the poor person, since he received it from the Lord. And this is a great and acceptable thing to do before God, because the rich person has gained understanding by his wealth and has worked for the poor person out of the gifts provided by the Lord, and he has accomplished his ministry well. 8. And so, people may think that the elm tree bears no fruit; but they neither know nor understand that when a drought comes, the elm nourishes the vine by holding water; and the vine, since it has an undiminished supply of water, produces fruit for two, both for itself and for the elm. Thus also those who are poor who pray to the Lord on behalf of the rich bring their own wealth to completion; and again those who are rich and supply the poor with what they need bring their souls to completion. 9. Both then share in an upright work. And so the one who does these things will not be abandoned by God, but will

¹⁴ ἔτι ἐπισπουδάξει A: ἔτι καὶ ἔτι ἐπισπουδάξει P^{Ox}

¹⁵ κύριον P^{Ox} C²: τὸν θεόν A: om. L L

μένος¹⁶ εἰς τὰς βίβλους τῶν ζώντων. 10. μακάριοι οἱ ἔχοντες καὶ συνιέντες ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου πλουτίζονται· ὁ γὰρ συνίων τοῦτο δυνήσεται καὶ διακονήσαι τι ἀγαθόν.¹⁷

Παραβολὴ γ'¹⁸

52 (III)

Ἔδειξέ μοι δένδρα πολλὰ μὴ¹⁹ ἔχοντα φύλλα, ἀλλὰ ὥσεί ξηρὰ ἐδόκει μοι εἶναι· ὅμοια γὰρ ἦν πάντα. λέγει μοι· βλέπεις, φησί, τὰ δένδρα ταῦτα; βλέπω, φημι, κύριε, ὅμοια ὄντα καὶ ξηρά. ἀποκριθείς μοι λέγει· ταῦτα τὰ δένδρα, ἃ βλέπεις, οἱ κατοικοῦντές εἰσιν ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ. 2. διατί, φημί, οὖν, κύριε, ὥσεί ξηρὰ καὶ ὁμοιά ἐστιν; ὅτι, φησὶν, οὔτε οἱ δίκαιοι φαίνονται οὔτε οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ,²⁰ ἀλλὰ ὁμοιοὶ εἰσιν· ὁ γὰρ αἰὼν οὗτος δικαίοις χειμῶν ἐστιν, καὶ οὐ φαίνονται μετὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν κατοικοῦντες. 3. ὥσπερ γὰρ τῷ χειμῶνι τὰ δένδρα ἀποβεβληκότα τὰ φύλλα ὁμοιά ἐστιν καὶ οὐ φαίνεται τὰ ξηρὰ ποῖά ἐστιν ἢ τὰ ζῶντα, οὕτως ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ οὐ φαίνονται οὔτε οἱ δίκαιοι οὔτε οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὁμοιοὶ εἰσιν.

¹⁶ γεγραμμένος P^{Ber} P^{Ox} vid. F L¹: ἐνγεγραμμένος M (L² E C²): ἐπιγεγραμμένος A

¹⁷ ἀγαθόν P^{Ox} M A L L E C²; om. (P^{Ber})L¹

¹⁸ παραβολὴ γ' M L² (L¹): ἀρχὴ ἄλλης παραβολῆς A:]θ παραβολὴ δ P^{Ox}: παραβολὴ δ' C²; om. E

be recorded in the books of the living. 10. Happy are those who have possessions and understand that their riches have come from the Lord; for the one who understands this will also be able to perform a good ministry."

Third Parable

52 (III)

He showed me many trees that did not have leaves but appeared to me to be withered. And they were all alike. He said to me, "Do you see these trees?" "I see them, Lord," I replied. "They are like one another and withered." He said, "These trees you see are the people who dwell in this age." 2. "Why, then, Lord," I asked, "do they seem withered and like one another?" "Because," he said, "neither the upright nor the sinners stand out clearly in this age, but they are like one another. For this age is a winter for those who are upright: they do not stand out clearly while dwelling with the sinners. 3. For just as the trees that shed their leaves in the winter all look alike, with the withered indistinguishable from the living, so too in this age it is not clear who the upright are and who the sinners, but they all appear alike."

¹⁹ μὴ M A L L C²: om. E

²⁰ ἐν . . . τούτῳ A L L: om. M C² E

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

Ἄλλη παραβολή²¹

53 (IV)

Ἔδειξέ μοι πάλιν δένδρα πολλά, ἃ μὲν βλαστῶντα, ἃ δὲ ξηρά, καὶ λέγει μοι· βλέπεις, φησί, τὰ δένδρα ταῦτα; βλέπω, φημί, κύριε, ἃ μὲν βλαστῶντα, ἃ δὲ ξηρά. 2. ταῦτα, φησί, τὰ δένδρα τὰ βλαστῶντα οἱ δίκαιοί εἰσιν οἱ μέλλοντες κατοικεῖν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἐρχόμενον· ὁ γὰρ αἰὼν ὁ ἐρχόμενος θερεία²² ἐστὶν τοῖς δικαίοις, τοῖς δὲ ἁμαρτωλοῖς χειμῶν. ὅταν οὖν ἐπιλάμψῃ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ κυρίου, τότε φανεροὶ ἔσονται οἱ δουλεύοντες τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πᾶσι φανεροποιηθήσονται. 3. ὥσπερ γὰρ τῇ θερείᾳ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου δένδρου οἱ καρποὶ φανεροῦνται καὶ²³ ἐπιγινώσκονται ποιοί τινές εἰσιν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν δικαίων οἱ καρποὶ φανεροὶ ἔσονται καὶ γνωσθήσονται πάντες εὐθαλεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι ἐκείνῳ. 4. τὰ δὲ ἔθνη καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί, ἃ εἶδες τὰ δένδρα τὰ ξηρά, τοιοῦτοι εὑρεθήσονται ξηροὶ καὶ ἄκαρποι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ αἰῶνι καὶ ὡς ξηρὰ ξύλα κατακαυθήσονται καὶ φανεροὶ ἔσονται,²⁴ ὅτι ἡ πράξις αὐτῶν πονηρὰ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἁμαρτωλοὶ καήσονται ὅτι ἥμαρτον καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν· τὰ δὲ ἔθνη καήσονται ὅτι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὸν κτίσαντα αὐτούς. 5. σὺ οὖν ἐν σεαυτῷ²⁵ καρποφόρει, ἵνα ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ θερείᾳ γνωσθῇ σου ὁ καρπός· ἀπέχου

Another Parable

53 (IV)

He showed me again a number of trees, some of them budding, others withered. And he said to me, "Do you see these trees?" "I see them, Lord," I replied. "Some of them are budding and others are withered." 2. "These trees that are budding," he said, "are the upright who are about to dwell in the age that is coming. For the coming age is a summer for the upright, but a winter for sinners. And so, when the mercy of the Lord shines forth, those who serve as slaves to God will stand out clearly, and everyone will be able to recognize them. 3. For just as the fruits of each individual tree appear in the summer and their species are recognized, so too the fruits of the upright will appear, and they will all be known in that age because they will be blossoming. 4. But the outsiders and sinners—who are the withered trees you saw—will be found withered and fruitless in that age, and they will be burned like withered trees and shown for what they are, because they did what was evil in their lifetimes. The sinners will be burned for sinning and not repenting. But the outsiders will be burned for not knowing the one who created them. 5. You, therefore, bear fruit in yourself, that your fruit may appear in

²¹ ἄλλη παραβολὴ M (uncertain whether a number follows): ἀρχὴ ἄλλης παραβολῆς A: παραβολὴ δ' L²: παραβολὴ ε' C²: om. E. In P^{Ber} the fourth parable follows the second.

²² θερεία M P^{Ber} L L E: θρόνος A

²³ φανεροῦνται καὶ M A L L: om. P^{Ber} E ²⁴ φανεροὶ ἔσονται A L² (L¹): ἀφανεροὶ ἔσονται M: φανερόν ἔσται cj. Dibelius ²⁵ ἐν σεαυτῷ M P^{Ber} vid. L² E: om. A L¹

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

δὲ ἀπὸ πολλῶν πράξεων καὶ οὐδὲν διαμάρτης. οἱ γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ πράσσοντες πολλὰ καὶ ἁμαρτάνουσιν, περισπώμενοι περὶ τὰς πραγματείας αὐτῶν μηδὲ δουλεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ²⁶ αὐτῶν. 6. πῶς οὖν, φησὶν, δύναται ὁ τοιοῦτος αἰτήσασθαι τι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ λαβεῖν, μὴ δουλεύων τῷ κυρίῳ; οἱ δουλεύοντες αὐτῷ, ἐκεῖνοι λήμψονται τὰ αἰτήματα αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ μὴ δουλεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ οὐδὲν λήμψονται. 7. ἐὰν δὲ μίαν τις πράξιν ἐργάσῃται, δύναται καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ δουλεύσαι· οὐ γὰρ μὴ διαφθαρῇσεται ἡ διάνοια αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ἀλλὰ δουλεύσει αὐτῷ ἔχων καθαρὰν τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ. 8. ταῦτα οὖν ἐὰν ποιήσῃς, δυνήσῃ καρποφορῆσαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἐρχόμενον· καὶ ὃς ἐὰν ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, καρποφορήσει.

Ἄλλη παραβολὴ ε' ²⁷

54 (V.1)

Νηστεύοντός μου καὶ καθημένου εἰς ὄρος τι εὐχαριστῶν τῷ κυρίῳ περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν μετ' ἐμοῦ, βλέπω τὸν ποιμένα παρακαθήμενόν μοι καὶ λέγοντά μοι²⁸ τοιαῦτα· τί ὀρθρινὸς ὦδε ἐλήλυθας; ὅτι, φημί, κύριε, στατίωνα ἔχω. 2. τί, φησὶν, ἐστὶν στατίων; νηστεύω, φημί, κύριε. νηστεία δέ, φησὶν, τί ἐστὶν αὕτη, ἣν νηστεύετε; ὡς εἰώθειν, φημί, κύριε, οὕτω

²⁶ κυρίῳ M A L² E: deo L¹

²⁷ ἄλλη παραβολὴ ε̅ M (*similitudo quinta* L L): παραβ. 5
PHam C²: ἀρχὴ ἄλλης παραβολῆς A: om. E

that summer. But avoid many business activities and you will not sin at all. For those involved with numerous business dealings are also involved in numerous sins, since they are distracted by their affairs and do not serve as the Lord's slaves. 6. How then," he continued, "can someone like this receive anything he asks from the Lord, if he does not serve as the Lord's slave? For his slaves will receive what they request, but those who are not his slaves will receive nothing. 7. But if someone should engage in just one kind of business [*Or: one business transaction*], he will also be able to serve as the Lord's slave. For his thoughts will in no way be corrupted away from the Lord, but he will be enslaved to him, keeping his thoughts pure. 8. So then, if you do these things you will be able to bear fruit in the age that is coming. And whoever else does these things will bear fruit."

Another Parable, Five

54 (V.1)

While I was fasting and sitting on a certain mountain, thanking the Lord for everything he had done for me, I saw the shepherd sitting next to me. And he said to me: "Why have you come here so early?" "Because, Lord," I said, "I have a duty to perform [*Literally: I have a station*]." 2. "What is the duty? [*Or: What is a station?*]" he asked. "I am fasting, Lord," I replied. "But what is this fast you people are keeping?" he asked. "I am fasting according to

²⁸ *μου* L L E C² Mvid.; om. P^{Ham} A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

νηστεύω. 3. οὐκ οἶδατε, φησίν, νηστεύειν τῷ θεῷ,²⁹ οὐδέ ἐστιν νηστεία αὕτη ἢ ἀνωφελής, ἣν νηστεύετε αὐτῷ. διατί, φημί, κύριε, τοῦτο λέγεις; λέγω, φησίν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν αὕτη νηστεία ἣν δοκεῖτε νηστεύειν· ἀλλ' ἐγώ σε διδάξω τί ἐστιν νηστεία δεκτὴ καὶ πλήρης τῷ κυρίῳ. ναί, φημί, κύριε, μακάριόν με ποιήσεις ἐὰν γνῶ τὴν νηστείαν τὴν δεκτὴν τῷ θεῷ.³⁰ ἄκουε, φησίν. 4. ὁ θεὸς οὐ βούλεται τοιαύτην νηστείαν ματαίαν· οὕτω γὰρ νηστεύων τῷ θεῷ οὐδὲν ἐργάζῃ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ. νήστευσον δὲ τῷ θεῷ νηστείαν τοιαύτην· 5. μηδὲν πονηρεύσῃ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου, ἀλλὰ δούλευσον τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, τηρῶν τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ πορευόμενος ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηδεμία ἐπιθυμία πονηρὰ ἀναβήτω ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου· πίστευσον δὲ τῷ θεῷ ὅτι ἐὰν ταῦτα ἐργάσῃ καὶ φοβηθῇς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγκρατεύσῃ ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος, ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ· ταῦτα δὲ ἐὰν ἐργάσῃ, μεγάλην³¹ νηστείαν τελεῖς καὶ δεκτὴν τῷ κυρίῳ.³²

55 (V.2)

Ἄκουε τὴν παραβολήν, ἣν μέλλω σοι λέγειν, ἀνήκουσαν τῇ νηστείᾳ. 2. εἶχέν τις ἀγρὸν καὶ δούλους πολλούς, καὶ εἰς μέρος τι τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα· ἐκλεξάμενος οὖν δουλὸν τινα πιστότατον³³ καὶ εὐάρεστον αὐτῷ,³⁴ ἀποδημῶν προσεκαλέσατο αὐ-

²⁹ θεῷ M PHam L L C²: κυρίῳ A E

my custom, Lord," I said. 3. "You people do not know how to fast for God," he said, "and this worthless fast you are keeping for him is not a fast." "Why do you say this, Lord," I asked. "I say this," he said, "because what you think you are keeping is not a fast. But I will teach you a fast that is acceptable and complete to the Lord." "Yes, Lord," I said, "you will make me blessed if you show me the fast acceptable to God." "Listen," he said. 4. "God does not want this kind of vain fast. For when you fast like this to God you do nothing at all righteous. But fast to God as follows: 5. Do no evil in your life, but serve as the Lord's slave with a pure heart, keeping his commandments and proceeding in his injunctions; and let no evil desire rise up in your heart. Trust in God, because if you do these things and fear him and are self-restrained from every evil deed, you will live to God. If you do these things, you will accomplish a fast that is great and acceptable to the Lord.

55 (V.2)

"Listen to this parable I am about to tell you; for it relates to fasting. 2. There was a person who owned a field and many slaves, and he planted a vineyard in part of the field. And he chose a certain slave who was most trustworthy and pleasing to him. When he was about to go on a journey, he

³⁰ ναὶ . . . θεῶ (κυρίῳ L² C²) M P^{Ham} L² C²: om. A L¹ E

³¹ μεγάλην M P^{Ber} A L¹ E C²: om. L²

³² κυρίῳ M P^{Ber} L¹ E C²: θεῶ A L²

³³ πιστότατον M P^{Ber} L L: πιστόν A E

³⁴ αὐτῷ M P^{Ber} L L E: ἔντιμον A

τὸν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· λάβε τὸν ἀμπελῶνα τοῦτον, ὃν ἐφύτευσα, καὶ χαράκωσον αὐτὸν ἕως ἔρχομαι, καὶ ἕτερον δὲ μὴ ποιήσης τῷ ἀμπελῶνι· καὶ ταύτην μου τὴν ἐντολὴν φύλαξον, καὶ ἐλεύθερος ἔσῃ παρ' ἐμοί. ἐξῆλθε δὲ ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ δούλου εἰς τὴν ἀποδημίαν.

3. ἐξελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν ὁ δούλος καὶ ἐχαράκωσε τὸν ἀμπελῶνα. καὶ τελέσας τὴν χαράκωσιν τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος εἶδε τὸν ἀμπελῶνα βοτανῶν πλήρη ὄντα.

4. ἐν ἑαυτῷ οὖν ἐλογίσατο λέγων· ταύτην τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ κυρίου τετέλεκα· σκάψω λοιπὸν τὸν ἀμπελῶνα τοῦτον, καὶ ἔσται εὐπρεπέστερος ἔσκαμμένος, καὶ βοτάνας μὴ ἔχων δώσει καρπὸν πλείονα, μὴ πνιγόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν βοτανῶν. λαβὼν ἔσκαψε τὸν ἀμπελῶνα καὶ πάσας τὰς βοτάνας τὰς οὔσας ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι ἐξέτιλλε. καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἀμπελῶν ἐκείνος εὐπρεπέστατος καὶ εὐθαλής, μὴ ἔχων βοτάνας τὰς πνιγούσας αὐτόν.

5. μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ ἦλθεν ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ³⁵ τοῦ δούλου καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα. καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν ἀμπελῶνα κεχαρακωμένον εὐπρεπῶς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἔσκαμμένον καὶ πάσας³⁶ τὰς βοτάνας ἐκτετιλμένας καὶ εὐθαλεῖς οὔσας τὰς ἀμπέλους, ἐχάρη λίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦ δούλου.

6. προσκαλεσάμενος οὖν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγαπητόν, ὃν εἶχε κληρονόμον, καὶ τοὺς φίλους, οὓς εἶχε συμβούλους, λέγει αὐτοῖς, ὅσα ἐνετείλατο τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅσα εὔρε γεγονότα. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συνεχάρησαν τῷ δούλῳ ἐπὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ ἣ ἔμαρτύρησεν αὐτῷ ὁ δεσπότης.

7. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἐγὼ τῷ δούλῳ τούτῳ ἐλευθερίαν ἐπηγγει-

called him in and said to him, 'Take this vineyard that I have planted and build a fence around it before I return, and do nothing else to the vineyard. Do what I have commanded and I will set you free.' And the master of the slave went away on his journey. 3. When he had gone, his slave took the vineyard and built a fence around it. When he finished the fence he saw that the vineyard was full of weeds. 4. And so he reasoned to himself, 'I have finished what the lord commanded; so now I will dig in this vineyard. Once it is dug it will be more attractive, and without the weeds it will give more fruit, since it will not be choked by the weeds.' So he dug the vineyard and removed all the weeds that were in it. And that vineyard became more attractive and flourishing, since there were no weeds that could choke it. 5. After some time the master of both field and slave returned and came into the vineyard. When he saw that the vineyard was attractively fenced and even more that it was dug, with all the weeds removed, and that the vines were flourishing, he was extremely pleased with what the slave had done. 6. So he called his beloved son, who was to be his heir, and his friends, who served as his advisors, and he told them everything he had commanded his slave and everything he found accomplished. And they congratulated the slave for the good testimony that the master had given him. 7. He said to them, 'I promised to free this slave if he did what I commanded him. And he did

³⁵ τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ P^{Ber} A: om. L L E

³⁶ πάσας P^{Ber} A: om. L L E

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

λάμην, εἰάν μου τὴν ἐντολὴν φυλάξῃ, ἣν ἐνετειλάμην³⁷ αὐτῷ· ἐφύλαξε δέ μου τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ προσέθηκε τῷ ἀμπελῶνι ἔργον καλόν, καὶ ἐμοὶ λίαν ἤρρεσεν. ἀντὶ τούτου οὖν τοῦ ἔργου οὗ εἰργάσατο θέλω αὐτὸν συγκληρονόμον τῷ νιῷ μου ποιῆσαι, ὅτι τὸ καλὸν φρονήσας οὐ παρενεθυμήθη, ἀλλ' ἐτέλεσεν αὐτό. 8. ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ δεσπότης συνηυδόκησεν αὐτῷ, ἵνα συγκληρονόμος γένηται ὁ δοῦλος τῷ νιῷ. 9. μετὰ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας δεῖπνον ἐποίησεν ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ ἐδέσματα ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου πολλὰ. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ δοῦλος τὰ ἐδέσματα τὰ πεμφθέντα αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσπότης αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀρκούντα αὐτῷ ἤρε, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοῖς συνδούλοις αὐτοῦ διέδωκεν. 10. οἱ δὲ σύνδουλοι αὐτοῦ λαβόντες τὰ ἐδέσματα ἐχάρησαν καὶ ἤρξαντο καὶ εὐχέσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μείζονα χάριν εὕρῃ παρὰ τῷ δεσπότη, ὅτι οὕτως ἐχρήσατο αὐτοῖς.³⁸ 11. ταῦτα πάντα τὰ γεγονότα ὁ δεσπότης αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν καὶ πάλιν λίαν ἐχάρη ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτοῦ. συνακαλεσάμενος πάλιν³⁹ τοὺς φίλους ὁ δεσπότης καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς τὴν πρᾶξιν τοῦ δούλου, ἣν ἔπραξεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐδέσμασιν οἷς ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον συνευδόκησαν γενέσθαι τὸν δούλον συγκληρονόμον τῷ νιῷ αὐτοῦ.

³⁷ ἐνετειλάμην L¹ E: ἐπηγγειλάμην A

³⁸ ὅτι . . . αὐτοῖς M A L¹: om. L² E

³⁹ συνακαλεσάμενος πάλιν A L L: συνακαλεσάμενος E: συνακαλέσας πάλιν πάντας M

what I commanded and an additional good work in my vineyard besides. He has pleased me greatly. In exchange for the work he has done I want to make him a fellow heir with my son; for when he thought of the good deed, he did not leave it alone, but he accomplished it.' 8. The master's son approved of the idea that the slave should become his fellow heir. 9. After some days the master of the house gave a dinner and sent a number of foods to the slave from his table. When the slave received the food his master sent, he took what he needed and distributed the rest to his fellow slaves. 10. His fellow slaves took the food gladly, and began also to pray for him, that he might find even greater favor with the master, since he had treated them so well. 11. The master heard everything that happened and was again extremely pleased at what the slave had done. So he once more assembled his friends and his son, and he reported to them what the slave had done with the foods he had received. And they approved even more heartily his plan to make the slave his son's fellow heir."

Λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, ἐγὼ ταύτας τὰς παραβολὰς οὐ γινώσκω οὐδὲ δύναμαι νοῆσαι αὐτάς, ἐὰν μή μοι ἐπιλύσης αὐτάς. 2. πάντα σοι ἐπιλύσω, φησίν, καὶ ὅσα ἂν λαλήσω μετὰ σοῦ, δείξω σοι. τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ κυρίου φύλασσε καὶ ἔσῃ εὐάρεστος αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνγραφήσῃ εἰς ἀριθμὸν τῶν τηρούντων τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ. 3. ἐὰν δέ τι ἀγαθοῦ⁴⁰ ποιήσης ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, σεαυτῷ περιποιήσῃ δόξαν περισσοτέραν καὶ ἔσῃ ἐνδοξότερος παρὰ τῷ θεῷ οὗ ἔμελλες εἶναι. ἐὰν οὖν φυλάσσω τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ προσθῇς καὶ τὰς λειτουργίας ταύτας, χαρήσῃ, ἐὰν τηρήσῃς αὐτάς κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐντολήν. 4. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, ὃ ἐάν μοι ἐντείλῃ, φυλάξω αὐτό· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ. ἔσομαι, φησί, μετὰ σοῦ, ὅτι τοιαύτην προθυμίαν ἔχεις τῆς ἀγαθοποιήσεως καὶ μετὰ πάντων δὲ ἔσομαι ὅσοι ἐάν, φησί, τὴν αὐτὴν προθυμίαν ἔχωσιν. 5. ἡ νηστεία, φησίν, αὕτη, τηρουμένων τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ κυρίου, λίαν καλὴ ἐστίν. οὕτως οὖν φυλάξεις τὴν νηστείαν.⁴¹ 6. πρῶτον πάντων φύλαξαι ἀπὸ παντὸς ῥήματος πονηροῦ καὶ πάσης ἐπιθυμίας πονηρᾶς καὶ καθάρισόν σου τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ματαιωμάτων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. ἐὰν ταῦτα φυλάξῃς, ἔσται αὕτη ἡ νηστεία τελεία.⁴² 7. οὕτω δὲ ποιήσεις· συντελέσας τὰ προγεγραμμένα, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἧ νηστεύεις μηδὲν γεύσῃ εἰ μὴ ἄρτον καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων σου ὧν ἔμελλες τρώγειν συνοψίσας τὴν

56 (V.3)

I said to him, "Lord, I do not know what these parables mean and cannot understand them, unless you explain them to me." 2. "I will explain everything to you," he said, "and show you the meaning of everything I tell you. Guard what the Lord commands and you will be acceptable to him and enrolled among those who keep his commandments. 3. But if you do anything good beyond what God commands, you will be glorified even more and even more highly honored before God than you were bound to be. If, then, you do what God commands and perform any of these services in addition, you will be filled with joy—if you keep them according to my commandment." 4. I said to him, "Lord, I will guard whatever you command me. For I know you are with me." "I will be with you," he said, "because you are so eager to do good; and I will be with everyone who is just as eager. 5. This fast that consists of keeping the Lord's commandments," he said, "is very good. And so guard the fast. 6. First of all, be on your guard against every evil word and desire, and cleanse your heart from all the vain affairs of this age. If you guard these things, this fast will be complete. 7. And act as follows: when you have completed the things that have already been written, taste nothing but bread and water on the day you fast. Then estimate the cost of the food you would have

⁴⁰ ἀγαθοῦ M L L: ἀγαθὸν A: om. E

⁴¹ οὕτως . . . νηστείαν (add ταύτην ἣν μέλλεις τηρεῖν A F)
M A F L¹ E: om. L²

⁴² τελεία M A F E C²: *iustum* L L

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ποσότητα τῆς δαπάνης ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἔμελλες ποιεῖν, ἀποθέμενος⁴³ δώσεις αὐτὸ χήρα ἢ ὀρφανῷ ἢ ὑστερουμένῳ, καὶ οὕτω ταπεινοφρονήσεις, ἵνα ἐκ τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης σου ὁ εἰληφῶς ἐμπλήσῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν καὶ εὕξῃται περὶ σοῦ πρὸς τὸν κύριον. 8. ἐὰν οὖν οὕτω τελέσῃς τὴν νηστείαν, ὥς σοι ἐντέλλομαι, ἔσται ἡ θυσία σου δεκτὴ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ⁴⁴ καὶ ἔνγραφος ἔσται ἡ νηστεία αὕτη, καὶ ἡ λειτουργία οὕτως ἐργαζομένη καλὴ καὶ ἰλαρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτος τῷ κυρίῳ. 9. ταῦτα οὕτως τηρήσεις σὺ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων σου καὶ ὅλου τοῦ οἴκου σου· τηρήσας δὲ αὐτὰ μακάριος ἔσῃ· καὶ ὅσοι ἐὰν ἀκούσαντες αὐτὰ τηρήσωσι, μακάριοι ἔσονται, καὶ ὅσα ἐὰν αἰτήσωνται παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου λήμψονται.

57 (V.4)

Ἐδεήθην αὐτοῦ πολλά, ἵνα μοι δηλώσῃ τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος καὶ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ χαρακώσαντος τὸν ἀμπελῶνα καὶ τῶν χαράκων καὶ τῶν βοτανῶν τῶν ἐκτετιλμένων ἐκ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων τῶν συμβούλων· συνῆκα γὰρ ὅτι παραβολή ἐστὶν ταῦτα πάντα. 2. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· αὐθάδης εἰ λίαν εἰς τὸ ἐπερωτᾶν. οὐκ ὀφείλεις, φησὶν, ἐπερωτᾶν οὐδὲν ὅλως· ἐὰν γάρ σοι δέῃ δηλωθῆναι, δηλωθήσεται. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, ὅσα ἐάν μοι δείξῃς καὶ μὴ δηλώσῃς, μάτην ἔσομαι ἑωρακὼς αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ νοῶν ὅτι ἐστίν·

eaten on that day and give that amount to a widow or orphan or someone in need. Be humble in this way, that the one who receives something because of your humility may fill his own soul and pray to the Lord for you. 8. If then you complete your fast like this, as I have commanded you, your sacrifice will be acceptable before God and the fast will be recorded. The service done in this way will be good and cheerful and pleasing to the Lord. 9. Thus you should keep these things, as should your children and your entire household. When you do so, you will be blessed. Everyone who hears these things and keeps them will be blessed, and they will receive whatever they ask from the Lord.”

57 (V.4)

I begged him fervently to explain to me the parable of the field, the master, the vineyard, the slave who built a fence around the vineyard, the fence posts, the weeds that were removed from the vineyard, the son, and the friends who were advisors. For I understood that all these things were a parable. 2. He answered me, “You are extremely brazen in your requests. You should ask nothing at all, for if anything needs to be explained to you, it will be.” I said to him, “Lord, there is no point in showing me something that you do not explain, when I do not know what it is. If you tell me

⁴³ ἀποθέμενος M L¹ (*et inde* L²): ἀποθεῖς F: om. A E

⁴⁴ θεῶ A: κυρίῳ F L L C² [lacuna M]

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐάν μοι παραβολὰς λαλήσης καὶ μὴ ἐπιλύσης μοι, εἰς μάτην ἔσομαι ἡκουκῶς παρὰ σοῦ. 3. ὁ δὲ πάλιν λέγει μοι· ὃς ἂν δοῦλος ᾦν, φησὶν, τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἔχη τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, αἰτεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ σύνεσιν καὶ λαμβάνει καὶ πᾶσαν παραβολὴν ἐπιλύει, καὶ γνωστὰ αὐτῷ γίνονται τὰ ῥήματα⁴⁵ τοῦ κυρίου τὰ λεγόμενα⁴⁶ διὰ παραβολῶν·⁴⁷ ὅσοι δὲ βληχροὶ εἰσιν καὶ ἄργοι πρὸς τὴν ἔντευξιν, ἐκεῖνοι διστάζουσιν αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου· 4. ὁ δὲ κύριος πολὺσπλαγχνός ἐστιν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς αἰτουμένοις παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀδιστακτῶς⁴⁸ δίδωσι. σὺ δὲ ἐνδεδυμωμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνδόξου⁴⁹ ἀγγέλου καὶ εἰληφῶς παρ' αὐτοῦ τοιαύτην ἔντευξιν καὶ μὴ ὦν ἄργός, διατί οὐκ αἰτῇ παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου σύνεσιν καὶ λαμβάνεις παρ' αὐτοῦ; 5. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, ἐγὼ ἔχων σέ μετ' ἐμαντοῦ ἀνάγκην ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ αἰτεῖσθαι καὶ σέ ἐπερωτᾶν· σὺ γάρ μοι δεικνύεις πάντα καὶ λαλεῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ· εἰ δὲ ἄτερ σοῦ ἔβλεπον ταῦτα⁵⁰ ἢ ἤκουον,⁵¹ ἡρώτων ἂν τὸν κύριον, ἵνα μοι δηλωθῇ.

58 (V.5)

Εἰπόν σοι, φησί, καὶ ἄρτι, ὅτι πανοῦργος εἶ καὶ αὐθάδης, ἐπερωτῶν τὰς ἐπιλύσεις τῶν παραβολῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως παράμονος εἶ σύ, ἐπιλύσω σοι τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἀκολου-

⁴⁵ τὰ ῥήματα A L²; μετὰ M

parables without explaining them to me, there is no point in my hearing them from you.” 3. Again he said to me, “Whoever is a slave of God and has the Lord in his heart asks him for understanding and receives it. And he interprets every parable; and the words of the Lord spoken in parables are made known to him. But all those who are weak and lazy in prayer hesitate to ask anything from the Lord. 4. The Lord has great compassion and gives without hesitation to everyone who asks of him. But you have been empowered by the glorious angel and have received from him this petition; since you are not lazy, why do you not ask for understanding from the Lord and receive it directly from him?” 5. I said to him, “Lord, since I have you with me I need to ask and inquire of you. For you are the one showing everything to me and speaking with me. If I had seen or heard these things without you, I would ask the Lord to clarify them for me.”

58 (V.5)

“I told you just now,” he said, “that you are crafty and brazen, asking for the interpretations of the parables. But since you are so persistent, I will interpret for you the parable of the field and everything that follows it, that you may

46 τὰ λεγόμενα A L²: τὰ ἀπορούμενα M^{vid.}: *quae quaestiones ferunt* L¹

47 διὰ παραβολῶν M A L² E: om. L¹

48 ἀδιστάκτως M: ἀδιαλείπτως A L L

49 ἐνδόξου M (*venerabili* L L): ἁγίου A

50 ταῦτα M L L E: om. A

51 ἢ ἥκουν M L¹ E: add αὐτά A: om. L²

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

θούντων πάντων, ἵνα γνωστὰ πᾶσι ποιήσης αὐτά. ἄκουε νῦν, φησί, καὶ σύνιε αὐτά. 2. ὁ ἀγρὸς ὁ κόσμος οὗτός ἐστιν· ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα καὶ ἀπαρτίσας αὐτὰ καὶ δυναμώσας. ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιόν ἐστιν.⁵² ὁ δὲ δούλος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν· αἱ δὲ ἄμπελοι ὁ λαὸς οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐφύτευσεν· 3. οἱ δὲ χάρακες οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοί εἰσι τοῦ κυρίου οἱ συγκρατοῦντες τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ· αἱ δὲ βοτάναι αἱ ἐκτετιλμέναι ἐκ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος ἀνομίαι εἰσὶ τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ· τὰ δὲ ἐδέσματα, ἃ ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου, αἱ ἐντολαί εἰσιν, ἃς ἔδωκε τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ σύμβουλοι οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι οἱ πρῶτοι κτισθέντες· ἡ δὲ ἀποδημία τοῦ δεσπότης ὁ χρόνος ὁ περισσεύων εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ. 4. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, μεγάλως καὶ θαυμαστῶς πάντα ἐστὶν καὶ ἐνδόξως ἔχει. μὴ οὖν, φημί, κύριε, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἡδυνάμην νοῆσαι; οὐδὲ ἕτερος ἄνθρωπος καὶν λίαν συνετὸς ἦν τις, οὐ δύναται νοῆσαι αὐτά. ἔτι, φημί, κύριε, δήλωσόν μοι, ὃ μέλλω σε ἐπερωτᾶν. 5. λέγε, φησὶν, εἴ τι βούλει. διατί, φημί, κύριε, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς δούλον τρόπον⁵³ κεῖται ἐν τῇ παραβολῇ;

59 (V.6)

Ἄκουε, φησὶν· εἰς δούλον τρόπον οὐ⁵⁴ κεῖται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην κεῖται καὶ κυριότητα. πῶς, φημί, κύριε, οὐ νοῶ. 2. ὅτι, φησὶν, ὁ θεὸς

make these things known to all. Listen, now," he said, "and understand these things. 2. The field is this world. And the lord of the field is the one who created all things and completed them and empowered them. The son is the Holy Spirit and the slave is the Son of God. The vines are this people, which he has planted. 3. The fence posts are the Lord's holy angels who surround his people. The weeds that were removed from the vineyard are the lawless deeds of the slaves of God. The foods that he sent to him from his dinner are the commandments he has given his people through his Son. The friends and advisors are the holy angels who were created first. And the absence of the master is the time that remains until his coming." 4. I said to him, "Lord, all these things are great, marvelous, and glorious. How could I have understood them? No one else could have understood them either, even if he were extremely insightful. Yet, Lord," I said, "explain to me what I am about to ask you." 5. "Say what you wish," he said. "Why, Lord," I asked, "is the Son of God represented as a slave in the parable?"

59 (V.6)

"Listen," he said; "the Son of God is not represented as a slave, but as one who has great authority and lordship." "I don't see how, Lord," I replied. 2. "Because," he said, "God

52 ὁ . . . ἐστιν L¹: om. A L² E [lacuna M]

53 τρόπον M A E: τόπον L L

54 οὐ L L E: om. M A

τὸν ἀμπελῶνα ἐφύτευσε, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸν λαὸν ἔκτισε καὶ παρέδωκε τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ υἱὸς κατέστησε τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοῦ συντηρεῖν ἐκάστους· καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν⁵⁵ ἐκαθάρισε πολλὰ κοπιάσας καὶ πολλοὺς κόπους ἀνηντληκῶς· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀμπελῶν δύναται σκαφῆναι⁵⁶ ἄτερ κόπον ἢ μόχθου. 3. αὐτὸς οὖν καθάρισας τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς τρίβους τῆς ζωῆς, δούς αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον, ὃν ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. βλέπεις οὖν, φησὶν, ὅτι αὐτὸς κύριός ἐστι τοῦ λαοῦ, ἐξουσίαν πᾶσαν λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. 4. ὅτι δὲ ὁ κύριος σύμβουλον ἔλαβε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους ἀγγέλους περὶ τῆς κληρονομίας τοῦ δούλου, ἄκουε· 5. τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ προόν, τὸ κτίσαν πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν, κατώκισεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς σάρκα ἣν ἠβούλετο.⁵⁷ αὕτη οὖν ἡ σὰρξ, ἐν ἣ κατώκησε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐδούλευσε τῷ πνεύματι καλῶς ἐν σεμνότητι καὶ ἀγνείᾳ πορευθεῖσα, μηδὲν ὅλως μιάνασα τὸ πνεῦμα. 6. πολιτευσαμένην οὖν αὐτὴν καλῶς καὶ ἀγνῶς καὶ συνκοπιάσασαν τῷ πνεύματι καὶ συνεργήσασαν ἐν παντὶ πράγματι, ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως ἀναστραφείσαν, μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου εἵλατο κοινωνόν· ἤρεσε γὰρ⁵⁸ ἡ πορεία τῆς σαρκὸς ταύτης, ὅτι οὐκ ἐμίανθη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔχουσα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. 7. σύμβουλον οὖν ἔλαβε τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοὺς ἐνδόξους, ἵνα καὶ ἡ σὰρξ αὕτη, δουλεύσασα τῷ πνεύματι ἀμέμπτως, σχῇ τόπον τινα κατασκηνώσεως, καὶ μὴ δόξη τὸν μισθὸν τῆς δου-

planted the vineyard—that is, he created the people and handed them over to his Son. And the Son appointed the angels over them, to protect each one. And he cleansed their sins through great labor, bearing up under his many labors. For a vine cannot be dug around without labor or toil. 3. And so, when he had cleansed the sins of the people he showed them the paths of life, giving them the law, which he received from his Father. 4. You see, then,” he said, “that he is the Lord of the people, having received all authority from his Father. But listen to what it means that the Lord took his Son, along with the glorious angels, as a counselor about the slave’s inheritance. 5. God made the Holy Spirit dwell in the flesh that he [*Or: it*] desired, even though it preexisted and created all things. This flesh, then, in which the Holy Spirit dwelled, served well as the Spirit’s slave, for it conducted itself in reverence and purity, not defiling the Spirit at all. 6. Since it lived in a good and pure way, cooperating with the Spirit and working with it in everything it did, behaving in a strong and manly way, God chose it to be a partner with the Holy Spirit. For the conduct of this flesh was pleasing, because it was not defiled on earth while bearing the Holy Spirit. 7. Thus he took his Son and the glorious angels as counselors, so that this flesh, which served blamelessly as the Spirit’s slave, might have a place of residence and not appear to have lost

⁵⁵ αὐτῶν M L L E: ἡμῶν A ⁵⁶ ἀμπελὼν δύναται σκα-
φῆναι M L L E: δύναται σκαφῆσαι A

⁵⁷ τὸ πνεῦμα . . . ἡβούλετο M A E: *spiritum illum sanctum, qui creatus est omnium primus, in corpore, in quo habitaret, deus fundavit atque statuit in electum corpus, quod ei placuit* L² (L¹)

⁵⁸ ἤρεσε γὰρ M A: add *deo* L¹: add *domino* L² (E)

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

λείας αὐτῆς ἀπολωλέκεναι· πᾶσα γὰρ σὰρξ ἀπολήμψεται μισθὸν ἢ εὐρεθείσα ἀμίαντος καὶ ἄσπιλος, ἐν ᾗ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατώκησεν. 8. ἔχεις καὶ ταύτης τῆς παραβολῆς τὴν ἐπίλυσιν.

60 (V.7)

Ἠνφράνθην, φημί, κύριε, ταύτην τὴν ἐπίλυσιν ἀκούσας. ἄκουε νῦν, φησί· τὴν σάρκα σου ταύτην φύλασσε καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ κατοικήσῃ ἐν αὐτῇ μαρτυρήσῃ αὐτῇ καὶ δικαιωθῇ σου ἡ σὰρξ. 2. βλέπε, μήποτε σου ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἀναβῇ τὴν σάρκα σου ταύτην φθαρτὴν εἶναι καὶ παραχρήσῃ αὐτῇ ἐν μiasmῶ τινι. ἐὰν μιάνης τὴν σάρκα σου, μιανεῖς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· καὶ ἐὰν μιάνης τὴν σάρκα σου, οὐ ζήσῃ. 3. εἰ δέ τις, φημί, κύριε, γέγονεν ἄγνοια προτέρα, πρὶν ἀκουσθῆναι τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, πῶς σωθήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ μιάνας τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ; περὶ τῶν προτέρων, φησὶν, ἀγνοημάτων τῷ θεῷ μόνῳ δυνατὸν ἴασιν δοῦναι· αὐτοῦ γὰρ πᾶσά ἐστιν ἡ ἐξουσία. 4. ἀλλὰ τὰ νῦν φύλασσε, καὶ ὁ κύριος πάντως⁵⁹ πολὺσπλαγχνος ὢν αὐτὰ ἰάσεται⁶⁰ ἐὰν σου τὴν σάρκα λοιπὸν μὴ μιάνης μηδὲ τὸ πνεῦμα· ἀμφοτέρα γὰρ κοινά ἐστιν καὶ ἄτερ ἀλλήλων μιανθῆναι οὐ δύναται. ἀμφοτέρα οὖν καθαρὰ φύλασσε, καὶ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ.

⁵⁹ πάντως M L²: *omnipotens* L¹: [lacuna A]

⁶⁰ ἀλλὰ . . . ἰάσεται M L L E: om. A

the reward for serving as a slave. For all flesh in which the Holy Spirit has dwelled—and which has been found undefiled and spotless—will receive a reward. 8. Now you have the interpretation of this parable.”

60 (V.7)

“I am very glad to have heard this interpretation, Lord,” I said. “And now listen,” he replied: “Guard this flesh of yours to keep it clean and undefiled, so that the spirit dwelling in it may bear a good testimony to it, and your flesh may be made upright. 2. Take care that the thought never occur to you that this flesh of yours is corrupt, and never misuse it in a defiling way. If you defile your flesh, you defile the Holy Spirit as well. And if you defile your flesh, you will not live.” 3. “But Lord,” I said, “if anyone was ignorant earlier—before having heard these words—and defiled his flesh, how will he be saved?” “God alone,” he replied, “can bring healing to those who were ignorant earlier. For all authority is his. 4. But guard these things for now, and the Lord who has great compassion will provide healing for these things, if here at the end you defile neither your flesh nor your spirit. For these two go together, and one cannot be defiled without the other. Keep both of them pure, therefore, and you will live to God.”

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

Παραβολὴ 5⁶¹

61 (VI.1)

Καθήμενος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου καὶ δοξάζων τὸν κύριον περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐωράκειν καὶ συνζητῶν περὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν, ὅτι καλαὶ καὶ δυναταὶ καὶ ἰλαραὶ καὶ ἔνδοξοι καὶ δυνάμεναι σῶσαι ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου, ἔλεγον ἐν ἑμαντῷ ταῦτα· μακάριος ἔσομαι, εἰὰν ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς ταύταις πορευθῶ, καὶ ὃς εἰὰν πορεύσῃται ἐν αὐταῖς μακάριος ἔσται. 2. ἕως ταῦτα ἐν ἑμαντῷ λαλῶ,⁶² βλέπω αὐτὸν ἐξαίφνης παρακαθήμενόν μοι καὶ λέγοντα ταῦτα· τί διψυχεῖς περὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν ὧν σοι ἐντέταλμαι; καλαὶ εἰσιν· ὅλως μηδὲν διψυχήσης, ἀλλ' ἐνδυσαι τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς πορεύσῃ· ἐγὼ γάρ σε δυναμώσω ἐν αὐταῖς. 3. αὗται αἱ ἐντολαὶ σύμφοροί εἰσιν τοῖς μέλλουσι μετανοεῖν· εἰὰν γὰρ μὴ πορευθῶσιν ἐν αὐταῖς, εἰς μάτην ἐστὶν ἡ μετάνοια αὐτῶν. 4. οἱ οὖν μετανοοῦντες ἀποβάλετε τὰς πονηρίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τὰς ἐκτριβούσας ὑμᾶς.⁶³ ἐνδυσάμενοι δὲ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν δικαιοσύνης δυνήσεσθε τηρῆσαι τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας καὶ μηκέτι προστιθέναι⁶⁴ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν. μηδὲν οὖν προστιθέντες πολὺ κόψετε τῶν προτέρων ὑμῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. πορεύεσθε οὖν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς μου, καὶ ζήσεσθε τῷ θεῷ. ταῦτα παρ' ἐμοῦ λελάληται ὑμῖν. 5. μετὰ τὸ ταῦτα λαλήσαι αὐτὸν μετ' ἐμοῦ, λέγει μοι· ἄγωμεν εἰς ἀγρόν, καὶ δείξω σοι τοὺς ποιμένας τῶν προβάτων. ἄγωμεν, φημί, κύριε. ἦλθομεν εἰς τι πεδῖον, καὶ δεικνύει μοι ποιμένα νεα-

Parable Six

61 (VI.1)

While I was sitting in my house and giving glory to the Lord for all the things I had seen, and reflecting that his commandments are good, powerful, cheerful, glorious, and able to save a person's soul, I was telling myself, "I will be fortunate if I proceed in these commandments; for whoever proceeds in them is fortunate." 2. While I was telling myself these things, I suddenly saw him sitting next to me and saying, "Why are you of two minds about the commandments I have given you? They are good. Do not be at all of two minds, but clothe yourself with the faith of the Lord and proceed in them. For I will empower you to do them. 3. These commandments are profitable to those who are about to repent. If they do not proceed in them, their repentance is in vain. 4. And so, you who repent should cast aside the evil affairs of this age, which wear you down. For when you are clothed with every righteous virtue, you will be able to keep these commandments and no longer increase your sins. And so, by not increasing them, you will greatly cut off your former sins. Proceed therefore in my commandments, and you will live to God, for I have spoken these things to all of you." 5. After he spoke these things to me, he said, "Let us go into the country, and I will show you the shepherds of the sheep." "Yes, Lord," I said, "let's go." We came to a certain plain and he showed me a

⁶¹ παραβολὴ 5 L¹: ἀρχή A: *explicit similitudo quinta, incipit similitudo sexta* L²: om. E [lacuna M] ⁶² λαλῶ M L L: ἐλάλουν A: *cogitabam* E ⁶³ τὰς ἐκτριβούσας ὑμᾶς M A L²: om. L¹ E ⁶⁴ προστιθέναι A: *προστίθετε* M L L E C²

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

νίσκον ἐνδεδυμένον σύνθεσιν ἱματίων τῷ χρώματι κροκώδη. 6. ἔβοσκε δὲ πρόβατα πολλὰ λίαν, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ὥσει τρυφῶντα ἦν καὶ λίαν σπαταλῶντα καὶ ἰλαρὰ ἦν σκιρτῶντα ὥδε καὶ ἐκεῖ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ποιμὴν ἰλαρὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ αὐτοῦ· καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ ποιμένου λίαν ἰλαρὰ ἦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρόβασι περιέτρεχεν.

62 (VI.2)

Λέγει μοι· βλέπεις, φησίν,⁶⁵ τὸν ποιμένα τούτου; βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. οὗτος, φησίν, ἐστὶν ἄγγελος τρυφῆς καὶ ἀπάτης. οὗτος οὖν ἐκτρίβει⁶⁶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν κενῶν⁶⁷ καὶ καταστρέφει αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀπατῶν αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ταῖς πονηραῖς, ἐν αἷς ἀπόλλυνται. 2. ἐπιλανθάνονται γὰρ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος καὶ πορεύονται ταῖς ἀπάταις καὶ τρυφαῖς ταῖς ματαίαις καὶ ἀπόλλυνται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τούτου, τινὰ μὲν⁶⁸ εἰς θάνατον,⁶⁹ τινὰ δὲ εἰς καταφθοράν. 3. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, οὐ γινώσκω ἐγώ, τί εἰς θάνατον καὶ τί εἰς καταφθοράν ἐστίν.⁷⁰ ἄκουε, φησίν· ὅσα εἶδες πρόβατα λίαν⁷¹ ἰλαρὰ καὶ σκιρτῶντα, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀφεσταμένοι ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τέλος καὶ παραδεδωκότες ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου· ἐν τούτοις οὖν μετάνοια ζωῆς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅτι προσέθηκαν κατὰ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου βλα-

⁶⁵ φησίν M L²: om. A L¹ E

young shepherd, wearing a bright yellow suit of clothes. 6. He was tending a large flock of sheep. These sheep were luxuriously fed and extremely frisky and cheerful, leaping about here and there; and the shepherd also was cheerful with his flock. The shepherd's appearance was very cheerful, and he was running about among the sheep.

62 (VI.2)

He said to me, "Do you see this shepherd?" "I see him, Lord," I replied. "This," he said, "is the angel of luxury and deceit. He, then, is the one who wears down the souls of the vacuous slaves of God and turns them away from the truth, deceiving them with evil desires that destroy them. 2. For they forget the commandments of the living God and proceed in vain deceits and luxuries and are destroyed by this angel—some to death and others to ruin." 3. I said to him, "Lord, I do not know what you mean that some are destroyed to death and others to ruin." "Listen," he said. "All the sheep you saw that were extremely cheerful and leaping about are the ones who have finally fallen away from God and have delivered themselves over to the desires of this age. Among these there is no repentance that leads to life, because they have also committed blasphemy

66 ἐκτρίβει A (*corruptit* L L): ἐκστρέφει M

67 τῶν κενῶν M A: om. L L E

68 τινὰ μὲν A L¹ E C²: om. M (L²)

69 τινὰ . . . θάνατον A L¹ E C²: om. L²

70 τί εἰς καταφθοράν ἐστιν M L L: τί ἐστιν . . . καταφθορὰν A: τί ἐστι τινὰ εἰς θάν. καὶ τινὰ εἰς καταφθορὰν C² (E) 71 λίαν M L L: om. A E C²

σφημίαν· τῶν τοιούτων οὖν ὁ θάνατος. 4. ἃ δὲ εἶδες μὴ σκιρτῶντα ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ βοσκόμενα, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ παραδεδωκότες μὲν ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς τρυφαῖς καὶ ἀπάταις, εἰς δὲ τὸν κύριον οὐκ ἐβλασφήμησαν. οὗτοι οὖν κατεφθαρμένοι εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας· ἐν τούτοις οὖν ἐλπίς ἐστὶν μετανοίας, ἐν ᾗ δύνανται ζῆσαι. ἢ καταφθορὰ οὖν ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἀνανεώσεώς τινα,⁷² ὁ δὲ θάνατος ἀπώλειαν ἔχει αἰώνιον. 5. πάλιν προέβημεν μικρόν, καὶ δεικνύει μοι ποιμένα μέγαν ὥσεί ἄγριον τῇ ιδέᾳ, περικείμενον δέρμα αἷγιον λευκόν, καὶ πήραν τινὰ εἶχεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὦμον⁷³ καὶ⁷⁴ ῥάβδον σκληρὰν λίαν καὶ ὄζους ἔχουσιν καὶ μάστιγα μεγάλην· καὶ τὸ βλέμμα εἶχεν περίπικρον, ὥστε φοβηθῆναι⁷⁵ αὐτόν· τοιοῦτον εἶχε τὸ βλέμμα. 6. οὗτος ὁ ποιμὴν παρελάμβανε τὰ πρόβατα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιμένος τοῦ νεανίσκου, ἐκεῖνα τὰ σπαταλῶντα καὶ τρυφῶντα, μὴ σκιρτῶντα δέ, καὶ ἐνέβαλλεν αὐτὰ εἰς τινα τόπον κρημνώδη καὶ ἀκανθώδη⁷⁶ καὶ τριβολώδη,⁷⁷ ὥστε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκανθῶν καὶ τριβόλων μὴ δύνασθαι ἐκπλέξαι τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλὰ ἐμπλέκεσθαι αὐτὰ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους. 7. ταῦτα οὖν⁷⁸ ἐμπεπλεγμένα ἐβόσκοντο ἐν ταῖς ἀκάνθαις καὶ τριβόλοις καὶ λίαν ἐταλαιπώρουν δερόμενα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὧδε καὶ ἐκεῖ περιήλυνεν αὐτὰ καὶ ὅλως ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐδίδει, καὶ ὅλως οὐκ εὐσταθοῦσαν τὰ πρόβατα ἐκεῖνα.

⁷² τινα M L L: τινος A

⁷³ τὸν ὦμον M L L C²: τῶν ὦμων A E

against the name of the Lord. Death therefore belongs to them. 4. But the ones you saw that were not leaping about but were grazing in one place, these are the ones who have delivered themselves over to luxuries and deceits, without committing blasphemy against the Lord. They have been ruined by falling from the truth. For these there is a hope of repentance, and it can make them live. And so, those who have experienced this kind of ruin have some hope of new life, but death brings eternal destruction.” 5. Then we went a little way ahead, and he showed me a large shepherd with a wild kind of appearance, clothed in the skin of a white goat, with a bag on his shoulder, a very hard and knotty staff, and a great whip. He had an extremely bitter look about him. I was afraid of him, he had such a look. 6. This shepherd was taking the sheep from the young shepherd—those that were frisky and luxuriously fed, but not leaping—and driving them into an area that was steep and filled with thorns and thistles. And the sheep could not extricate themselves from the thorns and thistles but became entangled in them. 7. And so they had to graze while being entangled among the thorns and thistles; and they were being miserably beaten by the shepherd. He was forcing them to move here and there, giving them no rest at all, so that those sheep were not at all tranquil.

⁷⁴ καὶ M A E: add *in manu* L L C²

⁷⁵ φοβηθῆναι M L L C²: add *με* A E

⁷⁶ καὶ ἀκανθώδη A L L E C²: om. M

⁷⁷ καὶ τριβολώδη M L L E C²: om. A

⁷⁸ ταῦτα οὖν A: αὐτοῦ οὖν M: *sed ibi* L L

Βλέπων οὖν αὐτὰ οὕτω μαστιγούμενα καὶ ταλαιπωροῦντα ἐλνπούμην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὕτως ἐβασανίζοντο καὶ ἀνοχὴν ὅλως οὐκ εἶχον. 2. λέγω τῷ ποιμένι τῷ μετ' ἐμοῦ λαλοῦντι.⁷⁹ κύριε, φημί, τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ οὕτως ἄσπλαγχνος καὶ πικρὸς καὶ ὅλως μηδὲν σπλαγχνιζόμενος ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα; οὗτος, φησὶν, ἐστὶν ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς τιμωρίας· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν δικαίων ἐστίν, κείμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τιμωρίας. 3. παραλαμβάνει οὖν τοὺς ἀποπλανωμένους ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πορευθέντας ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις⁸⁰ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ τιμωρεῖ αὐτούς, καθὼς τις ἄξιός ἐστιν, δειναῖς τιμωρίαις καὶ ποικίλαις. 4. ἤθελον, φημί, κύριε, γνῶναι τὰς ποικίλας τιμωρίας ταύτας, ποταπαί εἰσιν. ἄκουε, φησὶν, τὰς ποικίλας βασάνους καὶ τιμωρίας. βιωτικάι εἰσι βάσανοι· τιμωροῦνται γὰρ⁸¹ οἱ μὲν ζημίαις, οἱ δὲ ὑστερήσασιν, οἱ δὲ ἀσθενείαις ποικίλαις, οἱ δὲ πάσῃ ἀκαταστασία, οἱ δὲ ὑβριζόμενοι ὑπὸ ἀναξίων καὶ ἐτέραις πολλαῖς πράξεσιν πάσχοντες. 5. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀκαταστατοῦντες ταῖς βουλαῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιβάλλονται πολλά, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὅλως προχωρεῖ. καὶ λέγουσιν ἑαυτοὺς μὴ εὐδοῦσθαι ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν ὅτι ἔπραξαν πονηρὰ ἔργα, ἀλλὰ αἰτιῶνται τὸν κύριον. 6. ὅταν οὖν θλιβῶσι πάσῃ θλίψει, τότε ἐμοὶ παραδίδονται εἰς ἀγαθὴν παιδείαν καὶ ἰσχυροποιοῦνται ἐν τῇ πίστει τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας

63 (VI.3)

When I saw them flogged like this and made so miserable, I started to grieve for them, because they were tormented in this way and had no respite. 2. I said to the shepherd who was speaking with me, "Lord," I said, "who is this merciless and bitter shepherd, who is showing no compassion at all for these sheep?" "This," he replied, "is the angel of punishment. He is one of the upright angels, but he has been appointed to mete out punishment. 3. And so he takes those who have strayed from God and proceeded in the desires of this age, and he punishes them with the various terrifying punishments that each of them deserves." 4. "I want to know, Lord," I said, "what sorts of punishments there are." "Listen," he said, "to the various torments and punishments. For the torments come in the present life. Some people are punished with financial losses, others with deprivations, various diseases, or every kind of disruption, or by being abused by miscreants, and with many other kinds of suffering. 5. For many people undertake numerous projects but go back and forth in their minds, and nothing at all goes well for them. And they say that they do not prosper in what they do, but it never occurs to them that they have done what is evil; instead, they blame the Lord. 6. And so, when they have suffered every affliction, they are handed over to me for good discipline, and they are made strong in the faith of the Lord, and they

⁷⁹ λαλοῦντι M A E: om. L L

⁸⁰ ἐπιθυμίαις M: καὶ ἀπάταις A L L: *in cupidine peccati* E

⁸¹ τιμωροῦνται γὰρ A L L E: om. M

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν δουλεύουσιν τῷ κυρίῳ⁸² ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ· ὅταν οὖν μετανοήσωσιν, τότε ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα τὰ πονηρὰ ἃ ἔπραξαν, καὶ τότε δοξάζουσιν τὸν θεόν, ὅτι δίκαιος κριτὴς ἐστὶ καὶ⁸³ δικαίως ἔπαθεν πάντα ἕκαστος κατὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ δουλεύουσιν τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ εὐδοῦνται ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτῶν, λαμβάνοντες πάντα παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου ὅσα αἰτοῦνται· καὶ τότε δοξάζουσιν τὸν κύριον, ὅτι ἐμοὶ παρεδόθησαν, καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδὲν πάσχουσι τῶν πονηρῶν.

64 (VI.4)

Λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, ἔτι μοι τοῦτο δήλωσον. τί, φησὶν, ἐπιζητεῖς; εἰ ἄρα, φημί, κύριε, τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον βασανίζονται οἱ τρυφῶντες καὶ ἀπατῶμενοι ὅσον τρυφῶσι καὶ ἀπατῶνται; λέγει μοι· τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον βασανίζονται. 2. ἐλάχιστον, φημί, κύριε, βασανίζονται.⁸⁴ ἔδει γὰρ τοὺς οὕτως τρυφῶντας καὶ ἐπιλανθανομένους τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπταπλασίως βασανίζεσθαι. 3. λέγει μοι· ἄφρων εἶ καὶ οὐ νοεῖς τῆς βασάνου τὴν δύναμιν. εἰ γὰρ ἐνόουν, φημί, κύριε, οὐκ ἂν σε ἐπηρώτων ἵνα μοι δηλώσης. ἄκουε, φησὶν, ἀμφοτέρων τὴν δύναμιν. 4. τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ ἀπάτης ὁ χρόνος ὥρα ἐστὶν μία· τῆς δὲ βασάνου ἡ ὥρα τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν δύναμιν ἔχει. ἐὰν οὖν μίαν ἡμέραν τις τρυφήσῃ καὶ ἀπατηθῇ, μίαν

⁸² κυρίῳ A L L: θεῷ M

serve as the Lord's slaves the remaining days of their lives, with pure hearts. When they repent, they think about the evil deeds they have done, and then they give glory to God, because he is an upright judge and each one has rightly suffered everything in light of what he has done. For the rest of their lives they will serve as the Lord's slaves with pure hearts, and they will prosper in their every deed, receiving everything they ask from the Lord. Then they glorify the Lord, because they have been delivered over to me, and they no longer suffer any evil."

64 (VI.4)

I said to him, "Lord, explain something else to me." "What do you want to know?" he asked. "Are those who live in luxury and deceit," I asked, "tormented for the same amount of time that they lived in luxury and deceit?" He replied to me, "They are tormented the same amount of time." 2. "Then they are tormented very little, Lord," I said. "For those who have lived in luxury like this and forgotten God should be tormented seven times as long." 3. He said to me, "You are a fool and do not understand the force of the torment." "If I had understood it, Lord," I replied, "I would not have asked you to explain it to me." "Listen," he said, "and I will tell you the force of both things. 4. The time of luxury and deceit is a single hour. But an hour's worth of torment has the force of thirty days. And so, if someone lives in luxury and deceit for a single day, and is

⁸³ ἐστι καὶ L L: om. M

⁸⁴ ἐλάχιστον . . . βασανίζονται L L: om. A M^{vid}.

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

δὲ ἡμέραν βασανισθῇ, ὅλον ἐνιαυτὸν ἰσχύει ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς βασάνου. ὅσας οὖν ἡμέρας τρυφήσῃ τις, τοσούτους ἐνιαυτοὺς βασανίζεται. βλέπεις οὖν, φησὶν, ὅτι τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ ἀπάτης ὁ χρόνος ἐλάχιστός ἐστιν, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας καὶ βασάνου πολὺς.

65 (VI.5)

Ἐπεὶ,⁸⁵ φημί, κύριε, οὐ νενόηκα ὅλως τοὺς χρόνους τῆς ἀπάτης καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ βασάνου, τηλανγέστερόν μοι δήλωσον. 2. ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· ἡ ἀφροσύνη σου παράμονός ἐστιν, καὶ οὐ θέλεις σου τὴν καρδίαν καθαρίσαι καὶ δουλεύειν τῷ θεῷ. βλέπε, φησὶν, μήποτε ὁ χρόνος πληρωθῇ καὶ σὺ ἄφρων εὗρεθῇς· ἄκουε οὖν, φησὶν, καθὼς βούλει, ἵνα νοήσῃς αὐτά. 3. ὁ τρυφῶν καὶ ἀπατῶμενος μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ πράσσωσιν ἃ βούλεται πολλὴν ἀφροσύνην ἐνδέδνται καὶ οὐ νοεῖ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἣν ποιεῖ. εἰς τὴν αὔριον ἐπιλανθάνεται τί πρὸ μιᾶς ἔπραξεν· ἡ γὰρ τρυφή καὶ ἀπάτη μνήμας οὐκ ἔχει διὰ τὴν ἀφροσύνην, ἣν ἐνδέδνται, ἡ δὲ τιμωρία καὶ βάσανος ὅταν κολληθῇ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ μίαν ἡμέραν, μέχρι ἐνιαυτοῦ τιμωρεῖται καὶ βασανίζεται· μνήμας γὰρ μεγάλας ἔχει ἡ τιμωρία καὶ βάσανος.⁸⁶ 4. βασανιζόμενος οὖν καὶ τιμωρούμενος ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, μνημονεύει τότε τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ γινώσκει ὅτι διὰ ταῦτα πάσχει τὰ πονηρά. πᾶς οὖν ἄνθρωπος ὁ τρυφῶν καὶ ἀπατῶμενος οὕτως βασανί-

then tormented for a single day, that day of torment has the force of an entire year. Thus, a person is tormented for the same number of years as the days he has lived in luxury.⁴ You see," he said, "that the time of luxury and deceit is very brief, but that of punishment and torment is long."

65 (VI.5)

I said, "Lord, since I have not completely understood about the times of deceit and luxury and torment, explain them to me more clearly." 2. He answered me, "You are persistently foolish and do not wish to cleanse your heart and serve God. Take care," he said, "lest the time be fulfilled and you be found foolish. Listen, now," he said, "to what you want to know, so that you may understand these things. 3. The one who lives in luxury and deceit for a single day, doing whatever he wants, is clothed with great foolishness and does not understand what he is doing. The next day he forgets what he did the day before. For luxury and deceit have no memories, because the person is clothed in foolishness. But when punishment and torment cling to a person for a single day, he is punished and tormented for a year, because punishment and torment have great memories, 4. And so, when he is tormented and punished over the course of the entire year, then he remembers his luxury and deceit and he knows that he is suffering because of these evil deeds. All those who live in luxury

⁴ The calculations are based on a twelve-hour day.

⁸⁵ ἐπεὶ M L L E: ἔτι A

⁸⁶ καὶ βάσανος M A E: om. L L

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ζεται, ὅτι ἔχοντες ζωὴν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς θάνατον παρα-
 δεδώκασι. 5. ποῖαι, φημί, κύριε, τρυφαί εἰσι βλαβε-
 ραί; πᾶσα, φησί, πράξις τρυφή ἐστι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὃ
 ἐὰν ἡδέως ποιῇ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὀξύχολος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πρά-
 ξει⁸⁷ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῶν τρυφᾷ· καὶ ὁ μοιχὸς καὶ ὁ
 μέθυσος καὶ ὁ κατάλαλος καὶ ὁ ψεύστης καὶ ὁ πλεο-
 νέκτης καὶ ὁ ἀποστερητὴς καὶ ὁ τούτοις τὰ ὅμοια
 πάντα ποιῶν τῇ ἰδίᾳ νόσῳ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιεῖ· τρυφᾷ οὖν
 ἐν τῇ πράξει αὐτοῦ. 6. αὗται πᾶσαι τρυφαὶ βλαβεραὶ
 εἰσιν τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ· διὰ ταύτας οὖν τὰς ἀπά-
 τας πάσχουσιν οἱ τιμωρούμενοι καὶ βασανιζόμενοι.
 7. εἰσὶν δὲ καὶ τρυφαὶ σώζουσιν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους·
 πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἐργαζόμενοι τρυφῶσιν, τῇ ἑαυτῶν
 ἡδονῇ φερόμενοι. αὕτη οὖν ἡ τρυφή σύμφορός ἐστιν
 τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ζωὴν περιποιεῖται τῷ ἀν-
 θρώπῳ τῷ τοιούτῳ.⁸⁸ αἱ δὲ βλαβεραὶ τρυφαὶ αἱ προ-
 ειρημέναι βασάνους καὶ τιμωρίας περιποιοῦνται· ἐὰν
 δὲ ἐπιμείνωσι⁸⁹ καὶ μὴ μετανοήσωσιν, θάνατον ἑαν-
 τοῖς περιποιοῦνται.

Παραβολὴ ζ'⁹⁰

66 (VII)

Μετὰ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας εἶδον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον τὸ
 αὐτό, ὅπου καὶ τοὺς ποιμένας ἑωράκειν, καὶ λέγει μοι·

⁸⁷ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πράξει M L²: τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πάθει A: moribus suis
 L¹ [lacuna Pox]

and deceit are tormented in this way, because even though they are alive they have handed themselves over to death.” 5. “What sorts of luxuries, Lord,” I asked, “are harmful?” He replied, “Everything that brings a person pleasure is a luxury. For even the foul-tempered person who acts as he desires enjoys a luxury. So too does the adulterer, the drunkard, the slanderer, the liar, the greedy, the defrauder, and anyone who does anything similar, as he desires, in his own diseased way. Such a person, then, enjoys a luxury in what he does. 6. All these luxuries are harmful to the slaves of God. Those who are punished and tormented, therefore, suffer because of these deceitful practices. 7. But there are also luxuries that save people. For many people who do what is good enjoy luxury by being borne along by their own pleasure. And so this kind of luxury can be profitable for the slaves of God, and provides life to such a person. But the harmful luxuries that I mentioned before provide torments and punishments. If people remain in them without repenting, they provide death for themselves.”

Parable Seven

66 (VII)

After a few days I saw him in the same plain where I had seen the shepherds, and he said to me, “What are you look-

⁸⁸ τῶ τοιούτῳ A L L E: om. M

⁸⁹ ἐπιμείνωσι M: ἐπιμένωσι A E: add *in illis* L L

⁹⁰ παραβολή ζ' L L: ἀρχή A: *similitudo octava* E: παραβολή (uncertain whether a number follows) M

τί ἐπιζητεῖς; πάρειμι, φημί, κύριε, ἐρωτῆσαί σε ἵνα τὸν ἄγγελον⁹¹ τὸν τιμωρητὴν κελεύσης ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου μου ἐξελθεῖν, ὅτι λίαν με θλίβει. δεῖ σε, φησίν, θλιβῆναι· οὕτω γὰρ προσέταξεν ὁ ἔνδοξος ἄγγελος τὰ περὶ σοῦ· θέλει γάρ σε⁹² πειρασθῆναι. τί γάρ, φημί, κύριε, ἐποίησα οὕτω πονηρόν, ἵνα τούτῳ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ παραδοθῶ; 2. ἄκουε, φησίν· αἱ μὲν ἁμαρτίαι σου πολλάί, ἀλλ' οὐ τοσαῦται⁹³ ὥστε σε τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τούτῳ παραδοθῆναι· ἀλλ' ὁ οἶκός σου μεγάλας ἁμαρτίας καὶ ἀνομίας ἠργάσατο, καὶ παρεπικράνθη ὁ ἔνδοξος ἄγγελος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκέλευσέ σε χρόνον τινὰ θλιβῆναι, ἵνα κἀκεῖνοι μετανοήσωσι καὶ καθαρίσωσι ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. ὅταν οὖν μετανοήσωσιν καὶ καθαρισθῶσιν, τότε ἀποστήσεται ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς τιμωρίας. 3. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, εἰ ἐκεῖνοι τοιαῦτα ἠργάσαντο, ἵνα παραπικρανθῇ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ἔνδοξος, τί ἐγὼ ἐποίησα; ἄλλως, φησίν, ἐκεῖνοι οὐ δύνανται θλιβῆναι, ἐὰν μὴ σὺ ἢ κεφαλὴ τοῦ οἴκου θλιβῆς· σοῦ γὰρ θλιβομένου ἐξ ἀνάγκης κἀκεῖνοι θλιβήσονται, εὐσταθοῦντος δὲ σοῦ οὐδεμίαν θλίψιν δύνανται ἔχειν. 4. ἀλλ' ἰδού, φημί, κύριε, μετανενοήκασιν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας αὐτῶν. οἶδα, φησί, κἀγὼ ὅτι μετανενοήκασιν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας αὐτῶν. τῶν οὖν μετανοούντων, φησίν, δοκεῖς τὰς ἁμαρτίας εὐθὺς ἀφίεσθαι; οὐ πάντως· ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὸν μετανοοῦντα βασανίσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν καὶ ταπεινοφρονῆσαι ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ πράξει αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ θλιβῆναι ἐν πολλαῖς θλίψεσι καὶ ποικίλαις· καὶ ἐὰν

ing for?" "I have come here, Lord," I said, "to ask you to order the punishing angel to leave my house, because he is afflicting me terribly." "You need to be afflicted," he replied, "because this is what the glorious angel commanded for you. For he wants you to be put to the test." "What evil thing have I done, Lord, to be handed over to this angel?" I asked. 2. "Listen," he said, "your sins are many, but not enough for you to be handed over to this angel. But your household has committed great sins and lawless acts, and the glorious angel is embittered by their deeds. This is why he commanded you to be afflicted for a time, to lead them to repent and cleanse themselves from all worldly desires. When they repent and are cleansed, then the punishing angel will leave." 3. I said to him, "Lord, even if they are acting in ways that embitter the glorious angel—what have I done?" "It cannot be otherwise," he said. "They cannot be afflicted unless you are as well, since you are the head of the household. For if you are afflicted, of necessity they are too; but if you are flourishing, they can experience no affliction." 4. "But look, Lord," I said, "they have in fact repented from their whole heart." "I myself know they have repented from their whole heart," he replied. "But do you think," he said, "that the sins of those who repent are forgiven on the spot? Not at all! But the one who repents must torment his own soul and become mightily humble in his every deed and be afflicted with many and various afflic-

⁹¹ ἄγγελον M^c: ποιμένα A L L M

⁹² σε A L L E: add καὶ M

⁹³ ἀλλ' οὐ τοσαῦται M A L L: om. E

ὑπενέγκῃ τὰς θλίψεις τὰς ἐπερχομένας αὐτῷ, πάντως σπλαγχνισθήσεται ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ δυναμώσας καὶ ἱασίν⁹⁴ τινα δώσει αὐτῷ.⁹⁵ 5. καὶ τοῦτο πάντως ἐὰν ἴδῃ τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ μετανοούντος καθαρὰν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος. σοὶ δὲ σύμφορόν ἐστιν καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ σου νῦν θλιβῆναι. τί δὲ πολλὰ λέγω; θλιβῆναί σε δεῖ, καθὼς προσέταξεν ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ κυρίου ἐκείνος, ὁ παραδούς σε ἐμοί· καὶ τοῦτο εὐχαρίστει τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἄξιόν σε ἡγήσατο τοῦ προδελῶσαί σοι τὴν θλίψιν, ἵνα προγνούς αὐτὴν ὑπενέγκῃς ἰσχυρῶς. 6. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ γίνου, καὶ πᾶσαν θλίψιν δυνήσομαι ὑπενέγκαι. ἐγώ, φησίν, ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ· ἐρωτήσω δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν τιμωρητὴν ἵνα σε ἐλαφροτέρως θλίψῃ· ἀλλὰ ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ θλιβήσῃ, καὶ πάλιν ἀποκατασταθήσῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον⁹⁶ σου· μόνον παράμεινον ταπεινοφρονῶν καὶ λειτουργῶν τῷ κυρίῳ⁹⁷ ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, σὺ καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου καὶ ὁ οἶκός σου, καὶ πορεύου ταῖς ἐντολαῖς μου ἅς σοι ἐντέταλμαι καὶ δυνήσεται σου ἡ μετάνοια εἶναι ἰσχυρὰ καὶ καθαρὰ. 7. καὶ ἐὰν ταῦτα φυλάξῃς μετὰ τοῦ οἴκου σου, ἀποστήσεται πᾶσα θλίψις ἀπὸ σοῦ· καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων δὲ ἀποστήσεται ἡ θλίψις, ὅς ἂν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς μου πορεύσεται ταύταις.

⁹⁴ ἱασίν M F L L E: ἰσχύν A

⁹⁵ αὐτῷ L²: αὐτοῖς M A F: om. L¹ E

⁹⁶ τόπον M L L E: οἶκον A

⁹⁷ κυρίῳ A L L E: add θεῷ M

tions. And if he should endure the afflictions that come upon him, the one who created and empowered all things will be fully compassionate and bring him some healing. 5. This will certainly happen if he sees that the heart of the one who repents is pure from every evil deed. And it is to your advantage, and to your household's, to be afflicted now. But why am I telling you so much? You must be afflicted, just as that angel of the Lord commanded, the one who delivered you over to me. Give the Lord thanks for this—for he considered you worthy to have the affliction explained in advance, that by knowing about it in advance you could endure it strongly." 6. I said to him, "Lord, be with me and I will be able to endure every affliction." "I will be with you," he said. "And I will also ask the punishing angel to afflict you less severely. You will be afflicted for a brief time, and you will again be restored to your place. But continue by being humble, serving the Lord with a pure heart, you, your children, and your household; and proceed in my commandments, which I have given you, and your repentance will be able to be strong and pure. 7. If you guard these matters, along with your household, every affliction will leave you. And affliction will leave everyone one who proceeds in these my commandments."

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

Παραβολή η⁹⁸

67 (VIII.1)

Ἦδειξέ μοι ἰτέαν⁹⁹ σκεπάζουσιν πεδία καὶ ὄρη, καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῆς ἰτέας πάντες ἐληλύθασιν οἱ κεκλημένοι ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου. 2. εἰστήκει δὲ ἄγγελος τοῦ κυρίου ἐνδοξος λίαν ὑψηλὸς παρὰ τὴν ἰτέαν, δρέπανον ἔχων μέγα, καὶ ἔκοπτε κλάδους ἀπὸ τῆς ἰτέας, καὶ ἐπεδίδου τῷ λαῷ τῷ σκεπαζομένῳ ὑπὸ τῆς ἰτέας· μικρὰ δὲ ῥάβδία ἐπεδίδου αὐτοῖς, ὥσεί πηχυαῖα. 3. μετὰ τὸ πάντας λαβεῖν τὰ ῥάβδία ἔθηκε τὸ δρέπανον ὁ ἄγγελος, καὶ τὸ δένδρον ἐκείνο ὑγιὲς ἦν, οἶον καὶ ἐωράκειν αὐτό. 4. ἐθαύμαζον δὲ ἐγὼ ἐν ἑμαντῷ λέγων· πῶς τοσούτων κλάδων κεκομμένων τὸ δένδρον ὑγιὲς ἐστίν;¹⁰⁰ λέγει μοι ὁ ποιμὴν· μὴ θαύμαζε, εἰ τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο ὑγιὲς διέμεινεν τοσούτων κλάδων κοπέντων. ἄφες¹⁰¹ δέ, φησί, πάντα ἴδης, καὶ δηλωθήσεται σοι τὸ τί ἐστίν. 5. ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ἐπιδεδωκὼς τῷ λαῷ τὰς ῥάβδους πάλιν ἀπῆγει ἀπ' αὐτῶν· καὶ καθὼς ἔλαβον, οὕτως καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ εἰς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπεδίδουν τὰς ῥάβδους. ἐλάμβανεν δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατενόει αὐτάς. 6. παρὰ τινων ἐλάμβανε τὰς ῥάβδους ξηρὰς καὶ βεβρωμένας ὥς ὑπὸ σιγῆς· ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἄγγελος τοὺς τὰς τοιαύτας ῥάβδους ἐπιδεδωκότας χωρὶς ἰστάνεσθαι. 7. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδουν ξηρὰς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦσαν βεβρωμένοι ὑπὸ

⁹⁸ παραβολή η' L L: η' M: similitudo nona E: om. A

Parable Eight

67 (VIII.1)

He showed me a willow tree that spread its shade out over plains and mountains; and all those who have been called by the name of the Lord came under the shadow of the willow. 2. A glorious angel of the Lord stood very tall beside the willow, holding a large pruning hook; and he was cutting branches off the willow and giving them to the people who were in its shade. He was giving them small sticks, about a foot and a half in length. 3. After everyone had received their sticks, the angel put away the pruning hook. And the tree was still as healthy as I had seen it before. 4. I began to marvel to myself, saying "How can this tree be healthy after having so many branches cut off?" The shepherd said to me, "Do not marvel that this tree remains healthy after having so many branches cut off. But wait until you have seen everything and what it all means will be explained to you." 5. The angel who had given the sticks to the people demanded them back from them again. They were called back to him in the order in which they had received them, and all of them handed over their sticks. The angel of the Lord took them and examined them. 6. From some he received sticks that were withered and eaten up, as if by a moth. The angel commanded those who gave him these kinds of sticks to stand to one side. 7. Others handed over withered sticks, but they were not moth-eaten; he

99 *ἰτέαν* M L L: add *μεγάλην* A E

100 *λέγων . . . ἐστίν* M A E: om P^{Ber} vid. L L

101 *ἄφες* M: *ἐὰν* P^{Ber}; *ἀφ' ἧς* A

σητός· καὶ τούτους ἐκέλευσεν χωρὶς ἱστάνεσθαι. 8. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπιδίδουν ἡμιξήρους· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἱστάνοντο. 9. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπιδίδουν τὰς ράβδους αὐτῶν ἡμιξήρους καὶ σχισμὰς ἐχούσας· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἱστάνοντο. 10. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπιδίδουν τὰς ράβδους¹⁰² χλωρὰς μὲν σχισμὰς δὲ ἐχούσας· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἱστάνοντο. 11. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπιδίδουν τὰς ράβδους τὸ ἥμισυ ξηρὸν καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ χλωρόν· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἱστάνοντο. 12. ἕτεροι δὲ προσέφερον τὰς ράβδους αὐτῶν τὰ δύο μέρη τῆς ράβδου χλωρά, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ξηρόν· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἱστάνοντο. 13. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπιδίδουν τὰ δύο μέρη ξηρά, τὸ δὲ τρίτον χλωρόν· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἱστάνοντο. 14. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπιδίδουν τὰς ράβδους αὐτῶν παρὰ μικρὸν ὅλας χλωράς, ἐλάχιστον δὲ τῶν ράβδων αὐτῶν ξηρὸν ἦν, αὐτὸ τὸ ἄκρον· σχισμὰς δὲ εἶχον ἐν αὐταῖς· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἱστάνοντο. 15. ἐτέρων δὲ ἦν ἐλάχιστον χλωρόν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη τῶν ράβδων ξηρά· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἱστάνοντο. 16. ἕτεροι δὲ ἤρχοντο τὰς ράβδους χλωρὰς φέροντες ὡς ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου· τὸ δὲ πλεῖον μέρος τοῦ ὄχλου τοιαύτας ράβδους ἐπιδίδουν. ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐχάρη λίαν· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἱστάνοντο. 17. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπιδίδουν χλωρὰς καὶ παραφυάδας ἐχούσας· καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἱστάνοντο· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ ἄγγελος λίαν ἱλαρὸς ἐγένετο.¹⁰³ 18. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπιδίδουν τὰς ράβδους αὐτῶν χλωρὰς καὶ παραφυάδας ἐχούσας· αἱ δὲ παραφυάδες αὐτῶν ὥσεί καρπὸν τινα εἶχον· καὶ λίαν ἱλαροὶ ἦσαν οἱ ἄνδρες¹⁰⁴

commanded these to stand to one side as well. 8. Others handed them over half withered. These also stood to the side. 9. Others handed over sticks that were half withered and split. These stood to the side. 10. Others handed over sticks that were green, but split. These stood to the side. 11. Others handed over sticks that were half withered and half green. These stood to the side. 12. Others brought their sticks two parts green and the third part withered. These stood to the side. 13. Others handed over sticks that were two parts withered but the third part green. These stood to the side. 14. Others handed over their sticks that were almost entirely green, but a little part of their sticks was withered, at the end. But they were split. These stood to the side. 15. The sticks of others were just a little green, but the remaining parts of the sticks were withered. These stood to the side. 16. Others came carrying green sticks, as they had received them from the angel. The majority of the crowd handed over sticks like this. The angel was extremely happy with these. And they stood to the side. 17. Others handed over sticks that were green and budding. They stood to the side, and the angel was extremely cheerful about these. 18. Others handed over sticks that were green and budding, but their buds seemed to be

102 ῥάβδους M A L¹: add *suas* P^{Ber} vid. L² E

103 ἕτεροι . . . ἐγένετο M L L E: om. A

104 ἄνδρες M: ἄνθρωποι A (E): *ipsi* L²

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ἐκεῖνοι ὧν αἱ ῥάβδοι τοιαῦται εὐρέθησαν. καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡγαλλιᾶτο, καὶ ὁ ποιμὴν σὺν αὐτῷ λίαν ἱλαρὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τούτοις.

68 (VIII.2)

Ἐκέλευσε δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ κυρίου στεφάνους ἐνεχθῆναι. καὶ ἐνέχθησαν στέφανοι ὥσει ἐκ φοινίκων γεγονότες, καὶ ἐστεφάνωσε τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐπιδεδωκότας τὰς ῥάβδους τὰς παραφνάδας ἐχούσας καὶ καρπὸν τινα καὶ ἀπέλυσεν¹⁰⁵ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν πύργον. 2. καὶ ἄλλους δὲ ἀπέλυσεν¹⁰⁶ εἰς τὸν πύργον, τοὺς τὰς ῥάβδους ἐπιδεδωκότας τὰς παραφνάδας ἐχούσας, καρπὸν δὲ μὴ ἐχούσας, δοὺς αὐτοῖς σφραγίδα. 3. ἱματισμὸν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶχον πάντες λευκὸν ὥσει χιόνα, οἱ πορευόμενοι εἰς τὸν πύργον. 4. καὶ τοὺς τὰς ῥάβδους ἐπιδεδωκότας χλωρὰς ὡς ἔλαβον ἀπέλυσεν, δοὺς αὐτοῖς ἱματισμὸν λευκὸν καὶ σφραγίδα. 5. μετὰ τὸ ταῦτα τελέσαι τὸν ἄγγελον λέγει τῷ ποιμένι· ἐγὼ ὑπάγω· σὺ δὲ τούτους ἀπόλυσον εἰς τὰ τεῖχη, καθὼς τις ἄξιός ἐστιν κατοικεῖν. κατανόησον δὲ τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν ἐπιμελῶς καὶ οὕτως ἀπόλυσον. βλέπε, μή τίς σε παρέλθῃ· ἐὰν δέ τίς σε παρέλθῃ, φησὶν, ἐγὼ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον δοκιμάσω. ταῦτα εἰπὼν τῷ ποιμένι ἀπῆλθεν. 6. μετὰ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν τὸν ἄγγελον λέγει μοι ὁ ποιμὴν· λάβωμεν παρὰ¹⁰⁷ πάντων τὰς ῥάβδους καὶ φυτεύσωμεν αὐτάς, εἴ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν¹⁰⁸ δυνήσονται ζῆσαι. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, τὰ ξηρὰ ταῦτα

bearing fruit. The men whose sticks were found like this were extremely cheerful. The angel rejoiced over them, and the shepherd was extremely cheerful with him about these.

68 (VIII.2)

The angel of the Lord ordered crowns to be brought. And they were brought—crowns that appeared to be made of palm leaves. He crowned the men who had handed over the sticks that were budding with fruit, and he sent them off into the tower. 2. He also sent into the tower the ones who handed over sticks that were budding but bore no fruit, after giving them seals. 3. All those who went into the tower had the same clothing, white as snow. 4. And he sent off those who handed over their sticks green, as they had received them, after giving them white clothing and seals. 5. When the angel finished doing these things, he said to the shepherd, “I am leaving. You should send the others inside the walls, as each deserves to dwell there. But examine their sticks carefully and send them inside accordingly. Take care that no one escape your notice. If anyone does escape your notice,” he said, “I will put him to the test on the altar.” When he told the shepherd these things, he went away. 6. After the angel went away, the shepherd said to me, “Let’s take the sticks from all these people and plant

105 ἀπέλυσεν M A: *iussit ire* L L: *misit* E

106 ἀπέλυσεν M: ἀπέστειλεν A: *misit* L¹ E: *iussit ire* L²

107 παρὰ M L L: om. A E

108 τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν M A L² E: om. L¹

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

πὼς δύναται ζῆσαι; 7. ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο ἰτέα ἐστὶν καὶ φιλόζων τὸ γένος· ἐὰν φυτευθῶσι καὶ μικρὰν ἱκμάδα λάβωσι αἱ ῥάβδοι αὐταί, ζήσονται πολλαὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν· εἴτα δὲ πειράσωμεν καὶ ὕδωρ αὐταῖς παραχεῖν. ἐάν τις αὐτῶν δυνηθῇ ζῆσαι, συнχαρήσομαι αὐταῖς· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ζήσεται, οὐχ εὗρεθήσομαι ἐγὼ ἀμελής. 8. ἐκέλευσέν με ὁ ποιμὴν καλέσαι, καθὼς¹⁰⁹ τις αὐτῶν ἐστάθη. ἦλθον τάγματα τάγματα καὶ ἐπεδίδουν τὰς ῥάβδους τῷ ποιμένι· ἐλάβανεν δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν τὰς ῥάβδους καὶ κατὰ τάγματα ἐφύτευεν αὐτάς· μετὰ τὸ φυτεῦσαι αὐτὰς ὕδωρ αὐταῖς πολὺ παρέχεεν, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος μὴ φαίνεσθαι τὰς ῥάβδους. 9. μετὰ τὸ ποτίσαι αὐτὸν τὰς ῥάβδους λέγει μοι· ἄγωμεν καὶ μετὰ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐπανέλθωμεν καὶ ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὰς ῥάβδους ταύτας πάσας· ὁ γὰρ κτίσας τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο¹¹⁰ θέλει πάντας ζῆν τοὺς λαβόντας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κλάδους. ἐλπίζω δὲ καὶ γὰρ ὅτι λαβόντα τὰ ῥαβδία ταῦτα ἱκμάδα καὶ ποτισθέντα ὕδατι ζήσεται τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος.

69 (VIII.3)

Λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο τί ἐστὶν γνώρισόν μοι· ἀποροῦμαι γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τοσοῦτων κλάδων κοπέντων ὑγιές ἐστὶν τὸ δένδρον καὶ ὅλως οὐδὲν φαίνεται κεκομμένον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ἐν τούτῳ οὖν ἀποροῦμαι. 2. ἄκουε, φησὶν· τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο τὸ μέγα τὸ σκεπάζον πεδία καὶ ὄρη καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν νόμος

them, to see if any of them can live." 7. I said to him, "Lord, how can these withered sticks live?" He answered me, "This tree is a willow, a very hardy species. If these sticks are planted and given a little moisture, many of them will live. And so, we should do our best and pour water around them. If any of them can live, I will rejoice together with them. But if it does not live, it will not be my fault." 8. The shepherd ordered me to call each person in the order in which they were standing. They came, group by group, and handed their sticks to the shepherd. The shepherd took the sticks and planted them in their respective groups. When he had planted them he poured a good deal of water around them, so that the sticks could not be seen for the water. 9. After he watered the sticks he said to me, "Let us go and after a few days return to examine all these sticks. For the one who created this tree wishes all those who received branches from it to live. And I hope as well that the vast majority of these branches that have received moisture and been watered will live."

69 (VIII.3)

I said to him, "Lord, explain this tree to me, because I am perplexed by it, since it is healthy even after having so many branches cut off it. It looks as though nothing at all were cut from it. That is why I am perplexed." 2. "Listen," he said, "this great tree that overshadows plains and mountains and the entire earth is the law of God that has been

¹⁰⁹ καλέσαι καθὼς M A L² E: *vocare eos; et sicut* L¹

¹¹⁰ κτίσας . . . τοῦτο A L L E: *κύριος τοῦ δένδρου τούτου* M

θεοῦ ἐστὶν δοθεὶς εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον· ὁ δὲ νόμος
 οὗτος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ¹¹¹ θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ κηρυχθεὶς εἰς τὰ
 πέρατα τῆς γῆς· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην λαοὶ ὄντες οἱ
 ἀκούσαντες τοῦ κηρύγματος καὶ πιστεύσαντες αὐτῷ·
 3. ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος ὁ μέγας καὶ ἔνδοξος Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἔχων
 τὴν ἐξουσίαν τούτου τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ διακυβερνῶν· αὐτὸς
 γάρ ἐστιν ὁ διδῶν αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον εἰς τὰς καρδίας
 τῶν πιστευόντων. ἐπισκέπτεται οὖν αὐτούς, οἷς ἔδωκε
 τὸν νόμον,¹¹² εἰ ἄρα τηρήκασιν αὐτόν. 4. βλέπεις δὲ
 ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τὰς ράβδους· αἱ γὰρ ράβδοι ὁ νόμος
 ἐστίν. βλέπεις οὖν πολλὰς ἐκ τῶν ράβδων ἡχρει-
 ωμένας, γνώσῃ δὲ¹¹³ αὐτοὺς πάντας τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαν-
 τας τὸν νόμον, καὶ ὄψῃ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τὴν κατοικίαν.
 5. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, διατί οὓς μὲν ἀπέλυσεν εἰς τὸν
 πύργον, οὓς δὲ σοὶ κατέλιπεν; ὅσοι, φησί, παρέβησαν
 τὸν νόμον ὃν ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἐξου-
 σίαν αὐτοὺς κατέλιπεν εἰς μετάνοιαν· ὅσοι δὲ ἤδη
 εὐηρέστηκαν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τηρήρηκαν αὐτόν, ὑπὸ τὴν
 ἰδίαν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοὺς ἔχει. 6. τίνες οὖν, φημί, κύριε,
 εἰσὶν οἱ ἐστεφανωμένοι καὶ εἰς τὸν πύργον ὑπάγοντες;
 ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· οἱ ἐστεφανωμένοι οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ
 μετὰ τοῦ διαβόλου παλαίσαντες καὶ νικήσαντες αὐ-
 τόν·¹¹⁴ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου παθόντες· 7. οἱ δὲ
 ἕτεροι καὶ αὐτοὶ¹¹⁵ τὰς ράβδους χλωρὰς ἐπιδεδωκότες
 καὶ παραφνάδας ἐχούσας, καρπὸν δὲ μὴ ἐχούσας,
 ὑπὲρ¹¹⁶ τοῦ νόμου θλιβέντες, μὴ παθόντες δὲ μηδὲ

given to the whole world. And this law is the Son of God who is proclaimed to the ends of the earth. The people under its shadow are those who have heard the proclamation and believed it. 3. But the great and glorious angel is Michael, who has the authority over this people and guides it. For he is the one who gives them the law, in the hearts of those who believe. And so he watches over those to whom he has given the law, to see if they have kept it. 4. But you see the sticks that each of them has. The sticks are the law. Thus you see many of the sticks that have become useless. You will realize that these are all those who have not kept the law; and you will see where each one of them dwells." 5. I said to him, "Lord, why did he release some into the tower, but leave others for you?" "He left all those to my authority who transgressed the law they received from him," he replied, "that they may repent. But he has kept under his own authority all those who have already delighted in the law and kept it." 6. "Who, then, Lord," I asked, "are the ones who are crowned and go into the tower?" He answered me, "The ones who are crowned are those who have wrestled with the devil and defeated him. These are the ones who have suffered for the sake of the law. 7. But the others who handed over their sticks green and budding, without fruit, were afflicted for the sake of

¹¹¹ τοῦ M: om. A

¹¹² τὸν νόμον M L L: add *eius* E: om. A

¹¹³ γνώση δὲ A L² (L¹): ἴδε M

¹¹⁴ ἀποκριθεὶς . . . αὐτόν M L L E: om. A

¹¹⁵ καὶ αὐτοὶ A: add *οι* M: om. L L E

¹¹⁶ ὑπὲρ M L¹: οἱ ὑπὲρ A L² E

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ἀρνησάμενοι τὸν νόμον αὐτῶν. 8. οἱ δὲ χλωρὰς ἐπιδεδωκότες, οἷας ἔλαβον, σεμνοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ λίαν πορευθέντες ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ κυρίου πεφυλακότες. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ γνώση, ὅταν κατανοήσω τὰς ῥάβδους ταύτας τὰς πεφυτευμένας καὶ πεποτισμένας.

70 (VIII.4)

Μετὰ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἦλθομεν εἰς τὸν τόπον, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ὁ ποιμὴν εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ μεγάλου, καὶ γὰρ παρεστάθην αὐτῷ. λέγει μοι· περίζωσαι ὠμόλινον καὶ διακόνει μοι. περιεζωσάμην ἐγὼ ὠμόλινον ἐκ σάκκου¹¹⁷ γεγονὸς καθαρόν. 2. ἰδὼν δέ με περιεζωσμένον καὶ ἕτοιμον ὄντα τοῦ διακονεῖν αὐτῷ, κάλει, φησὶν, τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὧν εἰσιν αἱ ῥάβδοι πεφυτευμέναι, κατὰ τὰ τάγματα, ὥς τις ἐπέδωκεν τὰς ῥάβδους. ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ πεδῖον καὶ ἐκάλεσα πάντας· καὶ ἔστησαν πάντες τάγματα τάγματα.¹¹⁸ 3. λέγει δὲ αὐτοῖς· ἕκαστος ἐκτιλάτω¹¹⁹ τὰς ῥάβδους τὰς ἰδίας καὶ φερέτω πρὸς με. 4. πρῶτοι ἐπέδωκαν οἱ τὰς ξηρὰς καὶ κεκομμένας ἐσχηκότες· ὡσαύτως εὐρέθησαν ξηραὶ καὶ κεκομμέναι.¹²⁰ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς χωρὶς στήναι. 5. εἶτα ἐπέδωκαν τὰς ῥάβδους οἱ τὰς ξηρὰς καὶ μὴ κεκομμένας ἔχοντες· τινὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπέδωκαν τὰς

¹¹⁷ ἐκ σάκκου M A L L E: om. P O x

¹¹⁸ ἔστησαν πάντες τάγματα τάγματα cj. Lake: ἐστάθη

the law without suffering; and they did not deny their law. 8. But those who handed over their sticks green, as they received them, are reverent and upright and have come a long way with a pure heart; and they have guarded the commandments of the Lord. But you will know about the rest when I examine these sticks that have been planted and watered."

70 (VIII.4)

After a few days we came to the place and the shepherd sat in the place of the great angel; and I stood beside him. He said to me, "Put on a work apron and help me." I put on a clean work apron made of sackcloth. 2. When he saw that I had put it on and was ready to help him, he said, "Call the men whose sticks were planted, in the order in which they handed over their sticks." I went out into the plain and called everyone. They all stood, group by group. 3. He said to them, "Each of you is to pull up your own stick and bring it to me." 4. The first group to hand them over were those whose sticks were withered and cut off; they were discovered still to be withered and cut off. He ordered these people to stand to the side. 5. Then those whose sticks were withered and not cut off handed them over; some of these handed over sticks that were green, but

πάντα τὰ τάγματα M^{vid}: ἔστησαν πάντα τὰ τάγματα A:
[...], ἦν τὰ τάγμα[τα] P^{Ox}: *universi constiterunt agminibus suis* L¹
(E): *(qui cum) venissent et locis suis stetissent* L²

¹¹⁹ ἐκτιλάτω A L L E: ἐκτεινάτω M P^{Ox}

¹²⁰ ὡσαύτως . . . κεκομμέναι M P^{Ox} A L¹ E: om. L²

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

*ράβδους χλωράς, τινὲς δὲ ξηρὰς καὶ κεκομμένας ὥς¹²¹
 ὑπὸ σπητός. τοὺς ἐπιδεδωκότας χλωρὰς ἐκέλευσεν χω-
 ρὶς στῆναι, τοὺς δὲ ξηρὰς καὶ κεκομμένας μετὰ τῶν
 πρώτων ἐκέλευσεν στῆναι. 6. εἶτα ἐπέδωκαν οἱ τὰς
 ἡμίσιους ξηροὺς καὶ σχισμὰς ἐχούσας· πολλοὶ ἐξ
 αὐτῶν χλωρὰς ἐπέδωκαν καὶ μὴ ἐχούσας σχισμὰς·
 τινὲς δὲ χλωρὰς καὶ παραφυάδας ἐχούσας καὶ εἰς τὰς
 παραφυάδας καρπούς, οἷας ἔσχον οἱ εἰς τὸν πύργον
 πορευθέντες ἐστεφανωμένοι· τινὲς δὲ ἐπέδωκαν ξηρὰς
 καὶ βεβρωμένας, τινὲς δὲ ξηρὰς καὶ ἀβρώτους, τινὲς
 δὲ οἶαι ἦσαν ἡμίξηροι καὶ σχισμὰς ἔχουσαι. ἐκέλευ-
 σεν αὐτοὺς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν χωρὶς στῆναι, τοὺς μὲν¹²²
 πρὸς τὰ ἴδια τάγματα, τοὺς δὲ χωρὶς.*

71 (VIII.5)

*Εἶτα ἐπιδίδουν οἱ τὰς ράβδους χλωρὰς μὲν ἔχοντες,
 σχισμὰς δὲ ἐχούσας· οὗτοι πάντες χλωρὰς ἐπέδωκαν
 καὶ ἔστησαν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τάγμα. ἐχάρη ὁ ποιμὴν ἐπὶ
 τούτοις, ὅτι πάντες ἡλλοιώθησαν καὶ ἀπέθοντο τὰ
 σχίσματα αὐτῶν. 2. ἐπέδωκαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸ ἥμισυ
 χλωρόν, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ ξηρόν.¹²³ τινῶν εὐρέθησαν αἱ
 ράβδοι ὀλοτελεῖς χλωραί, τινῶν ἡμίξηροι, τινῶν ξη-
 ραὶ καὶ βεβρωμέναι,¹²⁴ τινῶν δὲ χλωραὶ καὶ παρα-
 φυάδας ἔχουσαι. οὗτοι πάντες ἀπελύθησαν ἕκαστος
 πρὸς τὸ τάγμα αὐτοῦ. 3. εἶτα ἐπέδωκαν οἱ τὰ δύο μέρη*

¹²¹ ὥς A L L E: om. M

some handed over sticks that were withered and cut off, as if moth-eaten. He ordered those with green sticks to stand to the side, and those with withered and cut-off sticks to stand with the first group. 6. Then those who had sticks that were half withered with splits handed them over; many of these handed over green sticks that had no splits; but some handed over sticks that were green and budding, with fruit in the buds, like the sticks of those who had been crowned and who went into the tower. Some handed over sticks that were withered and eaten; and some gave sticks that were withered and not eaten. Some handed over sticks that were half withered with splits. He ordered each of these to stand aside, some in their own groups, and others to the side.

71 (VIII.5)

Then those who had green sticks but with splits began handing them over; and all of these handed over sticks that were green. They then stood in their own group. And the shepherd was happy with these, because they had all been changed and lost their splits. 2. And those who had sticks that were half green and half withered handed them over; the sticks of some of these were found to be completely green, but some were half withered, others withered and eaten, and others green and budding. All these were sent off, each to his own group. 3. Then those who had sticks

¹²² ἕκαστον αὐτῶν χωρὶς στῆναι τοὺς μὲν M A L L E: ἕνα ἕκαστον χωρισθῆναι P^{Ox}

¹²³ ξηρόν M: add ἔχοντες A L L E

¹²⁴ τινῶν ξηραὶ καὶ βεβρωμέναι M A L² E: om. L¹

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

χλωρά ἐσχηκότες, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ξηρόν· πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν χλωρὰς ἐπέδωκαν, πολλοὶ δὲ ἡμιξήρους, ἕτεροι δὲ ξηρὰς καὶ βεβρωμένας· οὗτοι πάντες ἀπεστάλησαν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τάγμα. 4. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐπεδίδωσαν τὰς ράβδους αὐτῶν, τὰ δύο μέρη ξηρά, τὸ δὲ τρίτον χλωρόν· πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπέδωκαν ἡμιξήρους, τινὲς δὲ ξηρὰς καὶ βεβρωμένας, τινὲς δὲ ἡμιξήρους καὶ σχισμὰς ἐχούσας· ἐλάχιστοι¹²⁵ δὲ χλωρὰς ἐπέδωκαν· οὗτοι πάντες ἔστησαν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τάγμα. 5. ἐπέδωκαν δὲ οἱ τὰς ράβδους χλωρὰς ἐσχηκότες, ἐλάχιστον δὲ ξηρόν καὶ σχισμὰς ἐχούσας. ἐκ τούτων τινὲς χλωρὰς ἐπέδωκαν, τινὲς δὲ χλωρὰς καὶ παραφυάδας ἐχούσας. ἀπῆλθον καὶ οὗτοι εἰς τὸ τάγμα αὐτῶν. 6. εἴτα ἐπέδωκαν οἱ ἐλάχιστον ἔχοντες χλωρόν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη ξηρά· τούτων αἱ ράβδοι εὐρέθησαν τὸ πλείστον μέρος χλωραὶ καὶ παραφυάδας ἔχουσαι καὶ καρπὸν ἐν ταῖς παραφυάσιν, καὶ ἕτεραι χλωραὶ ὅλαι. ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ράβδοις ἐχάρη ὁ ποιμὴν μεγάλως, ὅτι οὕτως εὐρέθησαν. ἀπῆλθον καὶ οὗτοι ἕκαστος εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τάγμα.

72 (VIII.6)

Μετὰ τὸ πάντων κατανοῆσαι τὰς ράβδους τὸν ποιμένα λέγει μοι· εἰπὸν σοι, ὅτι τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο φιλόζωόν ἐστιν. βλέπεις, φησί, πόσοι μετενόησαν καὶ ἐσώθησαν; βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. ἵνα εἰδῇς, φησὶν, τὴν

that were two parts green but the third part withered handed them over. Many of these handed over green sticks, but many others handed over half withered sticks, and others sticks that were withered and eaten. All of these were sent off, each to his own group. 4. And others handed over the sticks that had been two parts withered and the third part green. Many of these handed over sticks that were half withered, but some handed over sticks that were withered and eaten, and some handed over sticks that were half withered and with splits. The smallest group handed over sticks that were green. All these stood in their own group. 5. And those who had green sticks that were just a little withered and with splits handed them over; some of these handed over sticks that were green, and others sticks that were green and budding; and these went away to their group. 6. Then those who had sticks that were just a little green and the rest withered handed them over. The sticks of most of these were found to be green, with buds and fruit in the buds; the others were entirely green. The shepherd was extremely happy about these sticks, because they were found like this. And these people all went off to their own group.

72 (VIII.6)

After the shepherd examined everyone's sticks, he said to me, "I told you that this tree is hardy. Do you see," he said, "how many people have repented and been saved?" "I see, Lord," I said. "This is that you may know," he said, "that the

¹²⁵ ἐλάχιστοι M A: *pauci* L¹ E: (*scissuras*) *minimas* (*habentes*), *alii* L²

πολυσπλαγχνίαν τοῦ κυρίου, ὅτι μεγάλη καὶ ἔνδοξός ἐστιν καὶ ἔδωκεν πνεῦμα τοῖς ἀξίοις οὖσι μετανοίας. 2. ὅτι¹²⁶ οὖν, φημί, κύριε, πάντες οὐ μετενόησαν; ὧν εἶδεν, φησὶν, ὁ κύριος¹²⁷ τὴν καρδίαν μέλλουσιν καθαρὰν γενέσθαι καὶ δουλεύειν αὐτῷ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας, τούτοις δέδωκε τὴν μετάνοιαν· ὧν δὲ εἶδε τὴν δολιότητα καὶ πονηρίαν, καὶ μέλλοντας ἐν ὑποκρίσει μετανοεῖν,¹²⁸ ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἔδωκεν,¹²⁹ μήποτε πάλιν βλασφημήσωσιν¹³⁰ τὸν νόμον¹³¹ αὐτοῦ. 3. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, νῦν μοι ἐπίλυσον τοὺς τὰς ράβδους ἀποδεδωκότας, ποταπὸς τις αὐτῶν ἐστι, καὶ τὴν τούτων κατοικίαν, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες οἱ πιστεύσαντες καὶ εἰληφότες τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ τεθλακότες αὐτὴν καὶ μὴ τηρήσαντες ὑγιῇ, ἐπιγνόντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔργα μετανοήσωσιν, λαβόντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σφραγίδα, καὶ δοξάσωσι τὸν κύριον, ὅτι ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐξαπέστειλὲν σε τοῦ ἀνακαινίσαι τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν. 4. ἄκουε, φησὶν· ὧν αἱ ράβδοι ξηραὶ καὶ βεβρωμέναι ὑπὸ σιγῆς εὐρέθησαν, οὗτοί εἰσιν ἀποστάται καὶ προδότες τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ βλασφημήσαντες ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτῶν τὸν κύριον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐπαισχυνθέντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐπ' αὐτούς. οὗτοι οὖν εἰς τέλος ἀπέθανον¹³² τῷ θεῷ. βλέπεις ὅτι οὐδὲ εἰς αὐτῶν μετενόησε, καίπερ ἀκούσαντες¹³³ τὰ ρήματα ἃ ἐλάλησας αὐτοῖς, ἃ σοι ἐνετειλάμην· ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἡ ζωὴ ἀπέστη. 5. οἱ δὲ τὰς ξηρὰς καὶ

compassion of the Lord is great and glorious and that he has given his spirit to those worthy of repentance.” 2. “Why then is it Lord,” I asked, “that everyone does not repent?” He replied, “The Lord has given repentance to those whom he saw were about to become pure in heart and serve him from their whole heart. But he did not give it to those in whom he saw deceit and evil, or those who were about to repent hypocritically, lest they should once again blaspheme his law.” 3. I said to him, “Lord, now explain to me what kind of person each one is who gave back the sticks, and what their dwelling place is—so that those who have believed and received the seal, but broken it and not kept it intact, may hear and recognize their own deeds, and so repent, receive a seal from you, and glorify the Lord, because he showed them mercy and sent you to renew their spirits.” 4. “Listen,” he said. “Those whose sticks were found to be withered and moth-eaten are apostates and betrayers of the church, who have blasphemed the Lord by their sins and become ashamed of the name of the Lord by which they were called. These have finally died to God. You see that not a single one of them has repented, even after hearing the words I commanded you to speak to them. Life has withdrawn from these. 5. And those who

126 ὅτι M L L E C²: οὗτοι A

127 ὁ κύριος M L¹ E C²: *deus* L²: om. A

128 μετανοεῖν A L L E C²: εἶναι M

129 ἔδωκε M: add μετάνοιαν A (L L) E C²

130 βλασφημήσωσιν M L L E C²: βεβηλώσωσι A

131 τὸν νόμον M L L: τὸ ὄνομα A E C²

132 ἀπέθανον M L L E: ἀπώλοντο A

133 καίπερ ἀκούσαντες M^{vid.}: καὶ περακούσαντες A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ἀσθήπτους ἐπιδεδωκότες, καὶ οὗτοι ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν ἦσαν γὰρ ὑποκριταὶ καὶ διδαχὰς ἐτέρας¹³⁴ εἰσφέροντες καὶ ἐκστρέφοντες τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας, μὴ ἀφίοντες αὐτοὺς μετανοεῖν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς διδαχαῖς ταῖς μωραῖς πείθοντες αὐτούς. οὗτοι οὖν ἔχουσιν ἐλπίδα τοῦ μετανοῆσαι. 6. βλέπεις δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν πολλοὺς¹³⁵ μετανενοηκότας ἀφότε¹³⁶ ἐλάλησας¹³⁷ αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐντολάς μου· καὶ ἔτι μετανοήσωσιν. ὅσοι δὲ οὐ μετανοήσουσιν,¹³⁸ ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν· ὅσοι δὲ μετενόησαν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ κατοικία αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ τεῖχη τὰ πρῶτα· τινὲς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν πύργον ἀνέβησαν. βλέπεις οὖν, φησὶν, ὅτι ἡ μετάνοια τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν ζωὴν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ μὴ μετανοῆσαι θάνατον.

73 (VIII.7)

Ὅσοι δὲ ἡμιζήρους ἐπέδωκαν καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς σχισμὰς εἶχον, ἄκουε περὶ αὐτῶν. ὅσων ἦσαν αἱ ράβδοι ἡμιζήροι, δίψυχοί εἰσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶσιν οὔτε τεθνήκασιν. 2. οἱ δὲ ἡμιζήρους ἔχοντες καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς σχισμὰς, οὗτοι καὶ δίψυχοί εἰσιν καὶ κατάλαλοι, μηδέποτε εἰρηνεύοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ διχοστατοῦντες πάντοτε. καὶ τούτοις, φησὶν, ἐπίκειται¹³⁹ μετάνοια. βλέπεις, φησὶν, ἤδη τινὰς¹⁴⁰ ἐξ αὐτῶν μετανενοηκότας. καὶ ἔτι

¹³⁴ ἐτέρας M P O x: ξένας A: pravās L L: *duplicem* (doctrinam)
E

handed over sticks that were withered but not rotten are near them. For they were hypocrites and advocates of other teachings, who turned the slaves of God aside, especially the sinners, not allowing them to repent, but persuading them by their foolish teachings. These then do have a hope of repentance. 6. You see that many of them repented when you told them my commandments. And they will still repent. All those who will not repent have destroyed their own lives. But all those who have repented have become good and dwell within the first walls; some have even ascended into the tower. You see, then," he said, "that the repentance of sinners brings life; but failing to repent brings death.

73 (VIII.7)

"Listen now about those who gave over sticks that were half withered and had splits. Those whose sticks were half withered are doubleminded. For they are neither alive nor dead. 2. But those who have sticks that are half withered and with splits are both doubleminded and slanderers. They have no peace within themselves, but are always causing dissension. And repentance is appointed for them," he said. "You see that some of them have already

135 πολλοὺς M A L L E: om. PO^x

136 ἀφότε M PO^x L L E: ἀφ' ἧς A

137 ἐλάλησας PO^x L L: ἐλάλησα A: *nuntiatum est* E [lacuna M]

138 ὅσοι . . . μετανοήσουσιν PO^x A L L E: ἐπεὶ M

139 ἐπίκειται PO^x A (E): ἔτι κείται M L L

140 ἤδη τινὰς M L²: τινὰς ἤδη PO^x: τινὰς A L¹ E

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ἐλπίς ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μετανοίας. 3. ὅσοι οὖν, φησὶν, ἐξ αὐτῶν μετανενοήκασιν, τὴν κατοικίαν εἰς τὸν πύργον ἔχουσιν· ὅσοι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν¹⁴¹ βραδύτερον μετανοήσουσιν, εἰς τὰ τείχη κατοικήσουσιν· ὅσοι δὲ οὐ μετανοήσουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐμμενοῦσιν ἐν¹⁴² ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, θανάτῳ ἀποθανοῦνται. 4. οἱ δὲ χλωρὰς ἐπιδεδωκότες τὰς ράβδους αὐτῶν καὶ σχισμὰς ἐχούσας, οὗτοι πάντοτε πιστοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο, ἔχοντες δὲ ζῆλόν τινα ἐν ἀλλήλοις περὶ πρωτείων καὶ περὶ δόξης τινός·¹⁴³ ἀλλὰ πάντες οὗτοι μωροὶ¹⁴⁴ εἰσιν, ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔχοντες¹⁴⁵ περὶ πρωτείων.¹⁴⁶ 5. ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι ἀκούσαντες τῶν ἐντολῶν μου, ἀγαθοὶ ὄντες, ἐκαθάρισαν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ μετενόησαν ταχύ. ἐγένετο οὖν ἡ κατοίκησις αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν πύργον· ἐὰν δέ τις αὐτῶν πάλιν ἐπιστραφῇ εἰς τὴν διχοστασίαν, ἐκβληθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ πύργου καὶ ἀπολέσει τὴν ζωὴν αὐτοῦ. 6. ἡ ζωὴ πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ κυρίου τηρούντων· ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς δὲ περὶ πρωτείων ἢ περὶ δόξης οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ μακροθυμίας καὶ περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης ἀνδρός. ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις οὖν ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ κυρίου, ἐν δὲ τοῖς διχοστάταις καὶ παρανόμοις θάνατος.

74 (VIII.8)

Οἱ δὲ ἐπιδεδωκότες τὰς ράβδους ἡμῖν χλωράς, ἡμῖν ξηράς, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ταῖς πραγματείαις αὐτῶν ἐμπεφυρμένοι καὶ τοῖς ἀγίοις μὴ κολλώμενοι. διὰ

repented. And there is still hope of repentance in them. 3. And so," he said, "all those who have repented have a dwelling place in the tower. All those who repent more slowly will dwell within the walls. But those who do not repent but remain in their deeds will certainly die. 4. Those who handed over their sticks green, but with splits, have always been faithful and good; but they have a certain envy among themselves, wanting to attain preeminence and a measure of glory. All of these are foolish, competing with one another for preeminence. 5. But since all of them are good, they purified themselves and repented quickly when they heard my commandments. So their dwelling place is in the tower. But if any of them becomes a dissenter, he will be thrown out of the tower and lose his life. 6. Life belongs to everyone who keeps the Lord's commandments. But there is nothing in these commandments about attaining preeminence or glory; instead, they are about a man's patience and humility. And so the life of the Lord is found in such people, but death is found in those who dissent and break the law.

74 (VIII.8)

"But those who handed over sticks half green and half withered are enmeshed in their business affairs and do not

¹⁴¹ τῇν . . . αὐτῶν M A L L E: om. P^{Ox}

¹⁴² ἀλλ' . . . ἐν M A L L E: om. P^{Ox}

¹⁴³ τινός M A L²: om. P^{Ox} L¹ E

¹⁴⁴ μωροί P^{Ox} A L L E: ἄφρονες M

¹⁴⁵ ἔχοντες M A: add ζῆλον L¹ (L² E)

¹⁴⁶ ἔχοντες . . . πρωτείων M A L L E: om. P^{Ox}

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

τοῦτο τὸ ἥμισυ αὐτῶν ζῇ καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ ἀπέθανεν.¹⁴⁷
 2. πολλοὶ οὖν ἀκούσαντες τῶν ἐντολῶν μου μετενόησαν. ὅσοι οὖν μετενόησαν, ἡ κατοικία αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν πύργον. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς τέλος ἀπέστησαν. οὗτοι οὖν μετάνοιαν οὐκ ἔχουσιν· διὰ τὰς πραγματείας γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐβλασφήμησαν τὸν κύριον καὶ ἀπηρνήσαντο αὐτόν. ἀπώλεσαν οὖν τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν πονηρίαν ἣν ἔπραξαν. 3. πολλοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδιψύχησαν. οὗτοι ἔτι ἔχουσι μετάνοιαν, ἐὰν ταχὺ μετανοήσωσιν, καὶ ἔσται ἡ κατοικία αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν πύργον· ἐὰν δὲ βραδύτερον μετανοήσωσιν, κατοικήσουσιν εἰς τὰ τείχη· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν. 4. οἱ δὲ τὰ δύο μέρη χλωρά, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ξηρὸν ἐπιδεδωκότες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀρνησάμενοι ποικίλαις ἀρνήσεσι. 5. πολλοὶ οὖν μετενόησαν ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸν πύργον κατοικεῖν· πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπέστησαν εἰς τέλος τοῦ θεοῦ· οὗτοι τὴν ζωὴν εἰς τέλος ἀπώλεσαν. τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδιψύχησαν καὶ ἐδιχαστάτησαν· τούτοις οὖν ἔτι¹⁴⁸ ἐστὶν μετάνοια, ἐὰν ταχὺ μετανοήσωσιν καὶ μὴ ἐπιμείνωσιν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς αὐτῶν· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμείνωσιν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ αὐτοὶ θάνατον ἑαυτοῖς ἐργάζονται.

75 (VIII.9)

Οἱ δὲ ἐπιδεδωκότες τὰς ράβδους τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ξηρά, τὸ δὲ τρίτον χλωρόν, οὗτοί εἰσιν πιστοὶ μὲν γεγονότες, πλουτήσαντες δὲ καὶ γενόμενοι ἐνδοξό-

cling to the saints; for this reason half of them are alive and the other half dead. 2. And so, many who have heard my commandments have repented. Whoever has repented will dwell in the tower. But some of them have fallen away once and for all. These, therefore, do not have repentance. For because of their business dealings they blasphemed the Lord and denied him. And so they have destroyed their lives by doing evil. 3. But many of them were double-minded. These still have a chance to repent, if they do so quickly; and they will dwell in the tower. But if they repent more slowly, they will dwell only within the walls. And if they do not repent, they too have destroyed their lives. 4. But those who handed over sticks that were two parts green and the third part withered are the ones who have denied God with various denials. 5. And so, many of them have repented and gone to dwell in the tower. But many have fallen away from God once and for all and have, therefore, once and for all destroyed their lives. But some of them have been of two minds and have caused dissension. There is still a chance for these to repent, if they repent quickly and do not remain in their passions. But if they continue to act in the same way, they too will bring death upon themselves.

75 (VIII.9)

“Those who handed over sticks that were two parts withered and the third part green are those who have been faithful, but who also have grown wealthy and maintained

147 ἀπέθανεν M P^{ox} L L E: νεκρόν ἐστι A

148 ἔτι M L¹ E: om. A L²

τεροι παρὰ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ὑπερηφανίαν μεγάλην ἐνεδύσαντο καὶ ὑψηλόφρονες ἐγένοντο καὶ κατέλιπον τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκολλήθησαν τοῖς δικαίοις, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνέζησαν, καὶ αὕτη ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῖς ἡδυτέρα ἐγένετο· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν, ἀλλ' ἐνέμειναν τῇ πίστει, μὴ ἐργαζόμενοι δὲ τὰ ἔργα τῆς πίστεως. 2. πολλοὶ οὖν ἐξ αὐτῶν μετενόησαν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ κατοίκησις αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν πύργον. 3. ἕτεροι δὲ εἰς τέλος μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνζῶντες καὶ φερόμενοι¹⁴⁹ ταῖς κενοδοξίαις τῶν ἐθνῶν¹⁵⁰ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἔπραξαν τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἐθνῶν. οὗτοι οὖν μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐλογίσθησαν. 4. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδιψύχησαν μὴ ἐλπίζοντες σωθῆναι διὰ τὰς πράξεις ἃς ἔπραξαν· ἕτεροι δὲ ἐδιψύχησαν καὶ σχίσματα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐποιήσαντο. τούτοις οὖν τοῖς διψυχήσασιν διὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν μετάνοια ἔτι ἐστίν· ἀλλ' ἡ μετάνοια αὐτῶν ταχινὴ χρήζει¹⁵¹ εἶναι, ἵνα ἡ κατοικία αὐτῶν γένηται εἰς τὸν πύργον· τῶν δὲ μὴ μετανοούντων ἀλλὰ ἐπιμενόντων ταῖς ἡδοναῖς, ὁ θάνατος ἐγγύς.

76 (VIII.10)

Οἱ δὲ τὰς ράβδους ἐπιδεδωκότες χλωράς, αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ ἄκρα ξηρὰ καὶ σχισμὰς ἔχοντα, οὗτοι πάντοτε ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πιστοὶ καὶ ἐνδοξοὶ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐγένοντο, ἐλαχιστον δὲ ἥμαρτον διὰ μικρὰς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ μικρὰ

a high standing among the outsiders. These have clothed themselves with great arrogance and become conceited; they have abandoned the truth and do not cling to those who are upright, but live with the outsiders. And this path has become very sweet to them. Still, they have not fallen away from God, but have remained in the faith, even though they do not do the works of faith. 2. And so many of these have repented, and their dwelling is in the tower. 3. But others have taken up residence, once and for all, with the outsiders. These have fallen away from God by being borne along by the vanities of the outsiders and acting like them. And so these are counted among the outsiders. 4. Some of them were doubleminded and did not hope to be saved because of what they did. Others were doubleminded and created schisms among themselves. And so there is still repentance for these who have been double-minded in what they have done. But their repentance must come quickly if they are to live in the tower. For those who do not repent but remain in their pleasures, death is near.

76 (VIII.10)

“But those who handed over sticks that were green, with only the ends withered and split, have always been good, faithful, and glorious to God, but they have sinned a little because of the few desires they have, holding some petty

¹⁴⁹ φερόμενοι M L L (E): φθειρόμενοι A

¹⁵⁰ τῶν ἐθνῶν A L L E: om. M

¹⁵¹ χρῆζει M L L E: ὀφείλει A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες· ἀλλὰ ἀκούσαντές μου τῶν ῥημάτων τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος ταχὺ μετενόησαν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ κατοικία αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν πύργον. 2. τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδυψύχησαν, τινὲς δὲ διψυχήσαντες διχοστασίας μείζονας ἐποίησαν. ἐν τούτοις οὖν ἔτι ἐστὶν¹⁵² ἐλπίς μετανοίας, ὅτι ἀγαθοὶ πάντοτε ἐγένοντο· δυσκόλως δέ τις αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖται. 3. οἱ δὲ τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῶν ἐπιδεδωκότες ξηράς, ἐλάχιστον δὲ χλωρόν, οὗτοί εἰσιν πιστεύσαντες μόνον,¹⁵³ τὰ δὲ ἔργα τῆς ἀνομίας ἐργασάμενοι· οὐδέποτε δὲ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἡδέως ἐβάστασαν καὶ ἡδέως¹⁵⁴ εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν ὑπεδέξαντο τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀκούσαντες οὖν ταύτην τὴν μετάνοιαν ἀδιστακτως μετενόησαν καὶ ἐργάζονται πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν δικαιοσύνης.¹⁵⁵ 4. τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ παθοῦνται¹⁵⁶ καὶ ἡδέως θλίβονται¹⁵⁷ γινώσκοντες τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν ἃς ἔπραξαν. τούτων οὖν πάντων ἡ κατοικία εἰς τὸν πύργον ἔσται.¹⁵⁸

77 (VIII.11)

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ συντελέσαι αὐτὸν τὰς ἐπιλύσεις πασῶν τῶν ῥάβδων λέγει μοι· ὕπαγε καὶ πᾶσι λέγε ἵνα μετανοήσωσι καὶ ζήσωσι τῷ θεῷ· ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἐ-

things against one another. But when they heard my words, most of them repented quickly, and their dwelling is in the tower. 2. Some of them were doubleminded, and some, being of two minds, caused greater dissensions. There is still a chance of repentance for these because they have been good at all times, and none of them will easily die [*Greek obscure*]. 3. Those who handed over sticks that were withered, and just a little green, are those who merely believed, while still acting in lawless ways. Still, they never fell away from God, and they bore his name gladly and gladly welcomed the slaves of God into their households. And so, once they heard about this repentance, they repented without hesitation and now accomplish every virtuous act of righteousness. 4. But some of them suffer and are gladly oppressed in full awareness of what they have done. All of these will therefore dwell in the tower."

77 (VIII.11)

After he finished explaining all of the sticks, he said to me, "Go and tell everyone to repent and live for God. For the

-
- 152 ἔτι (om. E) ἐστὶν M L L E: ἔνεστι A
 153 μόνον M^{vid.} A L² E: *quidem* (μὲν) L¹
 154 ἡδέως M A L L: om. E C²
 155 ἀρετὴν δικαιοσύνης L L C²: ἀρετῆς δικαιοσύνην M^{vid.}:
 ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην A (E)
 156 παθοῦνται M: φοβοῦνται A: *mortem obierunt* L¹ C²:
compressi L²
 157 καὶ . . . θλίβονται M: *libenter patiuntur* L L (C²): om. A
 158 τούτων . . . ἔσται M A E C²: om. L L

σπλαγχνίσθη καὶ ἔπεμψέ με δοῦναι πᾶσι τὴν μετά-
νοιαν, καίπερ τινῶν μὴ ὄντων ἀξίων σωθῆναι¹⁵⁹ διὰ τὰ
ἔργα αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ μακρόθυμος ὢν ὁ κύριος θέλει τὴν
κλήσιν τὴν γενομένην διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ σωθῆναι.
2. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, ἐλπίζω ὅτι πάντες ἀκούσαντες
αὐτὰ μετανοήσουσιν. πείθομαι γὰρ ὅτι εἰς ἕκαστος τὰ
ἴδια ἔργα ἐπιγνοὺς καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὸν θεὸν μετανοήσει.
3. ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· ὅσοι, φησὶν, μετανοήσωσιν
ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ καθαρίσωσιν¹⁶⁰ ἑαυτοὺς
ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν αὐτῶν τῶν προειρημένων καὶ
μηκέτι προσθῶσι μηδὲν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις αὐτῶν, λήμ-
ψονται ἴασιν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῶν προτέρων ἀμαρ-
τιῶν, ἐὰν μὴ διψυχήσωσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς ταύταις,
καὶ ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ. ὅσοι δὲ προσθῶσι ταῖς ἀμαρ-
τίαις αὐτῶν καὶ πορεύονται ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τοῦ αἰῶ-
νος τούτου κατακρινοῦσιν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς θάνατον.¹⁶¹
4. σὺ δὲ πορεύου ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς μου, καὶ ζήση.¹⁶² καὶ
ὃς ἂν πορεύεται ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ ἐργάσεται ὀρθῶς,
ζήσεται τῷ θεῷ.¹⁶³ 5. ταῦτά μοι δείξας καὶ λαλήσας
πάντα λέγει μοι· τὰ δὲ λοιπά σοι δείξω μετ' ὀλίγας
ἡμέρας.

¹⁵⁹ σωθῆναι M L L: *qui vivant* E C²: om. A

¹⁶⁰ μετανοήσωσιν ἐξ . . . καὶ καθαρίσωσιν M L L E C²: ἐξ
ὅλης καρδίας αὐτῶν καθαρίσουσιν A

¹⁶¹ ὅσοι . . . θάνατον M L L E C²: om. A

¹⁶² ζήση M (A) C²: add τῷ θεῷ L L E

¹⁶³ καὶ . . . θεῷ L L E C²: om. M A

Lord has shown his compassion by sending me to give repentance to all—even though some do not deserve to be saved because of what they have done. But since the Lord is patient, he wants everyone called through his Son to be saved.” 2. I said to him, “Lord, I hope that everyone who hears these words will repent. For I am convinced that everyone who realizes what he has done and fears God will repent.” 3. He answered me, “All who repent from their whole heart and cleanse themselves from the evil deeds mentioned before, without adding anything further to their sins, will be healed by the Lord for the sins they committed before—so long as they are not of two minds about these commandments and live for God. But all who add to their sins and proceed in the desires of this age will condemn themselves to death. 4. But you, proceed in my commandments and you will live. And whoever proceeds in them and does good work will live to God.” 5. After he showed me these things and finished speaking, he said to me, “In a few days I will show you the rest.”

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

Παραβολή θ'¹⁶⁴

78 (IX.1)

Μετὰ τὸ γράψαι με τὰς ἐντολὰς καὶ παραβολὰς τοῦ ποιμένος, τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς μετανοίας, ἦλθε πρὸς με καὶ λέγει μοι· θέλω σοι δεῖξαι, ὅσα σοὶ ἔδειξε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ λαλήσαν μετὰ σοῦ ἐν μορφῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν. 2. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀσθενέστερος τῇ σαρκὶ ἦς, οὐκ ἐδηλώθη σοι δι' ἀγγέλου. ὅτε οὖν ἐνεδυναμώθης διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ἰσχυσας τῇ ἰσχύϊ σου, ὥστε δύνασθαί σε ἄγγελον ἰδεῖν, τότε μὲν οὖν ἐδηλώθη σοι διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἢ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ πύργου· καλῶς καὶ σεμνῶς πάντα ὡς ὑπὸ παρθένου ἐώρακας. νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου βλέπεις, διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν πνεύματος· 3. δεῖ δέ σε ἀκριβέστερον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πάντα ἰδεῖν.¹⁶⁵ εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐδόθην ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ἀγγέλου εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου κατοικῆσαι, ἵνα δυνατῶς πάντα ἴδῃς, μηδὲν δειλαινόμενος ὡς καὶ τὸ πρότερον. 4. καὶ ἀπήγαγέ με εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, εἰς ὅρος τι μαστῶδες, καὶ ἐκάθισέ με ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ ὄρους, καὶ ἔδειξέ μοι πεδῖον μέγα, κύκλῳ δὲ τοῦ πεδίου ὄρη δώδεκα, ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην ἰδέαν ἔχοντα τὰ ὄρη. 5. τὸ πρῶτον ἦν μέλαν ὡς ἀσβόλη· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ψιλόν, βοτάνας μὴ ἔχον· τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἀκανθῶν καὶ τριβόλων πλήρες· 6. τὸ δὲ τέταρτον βοτάνας ἔχον ἡμιξήρους, τὰ μὲν ἐπάνω τῶν βοτανῶν χλωρά, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ρίζαις ξηρά· τινὲς δὲ βοτάναι, ὅταν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπικεκαύκει, ξηραὶ ἐγίνοντο·

Parable Nine

78 (IX.1)

After I wrote the commandments and parables of the shepherd, the angel of repentance, he came to me and said, "I want to show you everything that the Holy Spirit showed you when he spoke with you in the form of the church; for that Spirit is the Son of God. 2. For since you were too weak in the flesh, these things were not explained to you by the angel. When, later, you were empowered through the Spirit and became strong, so that you could see the angel, then the building of the tower was explained to you by the church. You saw all things in a good and reverent way, as shown by the virgin. And now you are seeing by the angel's help, through the same Spirit. 3. But you must observe all things more accurately with my help. This is why I was appointed by the glorious angel to dwell in your house, that you may see all things powerfully, without being frightened as you were earlier." 4. And he led me out to Arcadia, to a certain mountain shaped like a breast, and he seated me on the peak of the mountain and showed me a great plain, with twelve mountains surrounding the plain, each mountain having its own appearance. 5. The first was black as soot. The second was barren, with no vegetation. The third was full of thorns and thistles. 6. The fourth had plants that were half withered, green near the top but withered at the roots. And some of the plants with-

¹⁶⁴ παραβολὴ θ' M L L E: *initium similitudinis* E: *initium* C²: om. A

¹⁶⁵ ἀκριβέστερον . . . ἰδεῖν M L¹: παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀκρ. πάντα μαθεῖν A L² (E)

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

7. τὸ δὲ πέμπτον ὄρος ἦν τραχὺ λίαν, βοτάνας δὲ εἶχε χλωράς. τὸ δὲ ἕκτον ὄρος ὅλον σχισμῶν ἔγεμεν, ἃς μὲν μεγάλας, ἃς δὲ μικράς· εἶχον δὲ βοτάνας αἰ σχισμαί, οὐ λίαν δὲ ἦσαν εὐθαλεῖς αἰ βοτάναι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὥς μεμαραμμέναι ἦσαν. 8. τὸ δὲ ἑβδομον ὄρος εἶχεν βοτάνας ἱλαράς, καὶ ὅλον τὸ ὄρος εὐθηνοῦν ἦν, καὶ πᾶν γένος κτηνῶν καὶ ὀρνέων ἐνέμετο εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο· καὶ ὅσον ἐβόσκετο τὰ κτήνη καὶ τὰ πετεινά, μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον αἰ βοτάναι τοῦ ὄρους ἐκείνου ἔθαλλον. τὸ δὲ ὄγδοον ὄρος πηγῶν πλήρες ἦν, καὶ πᾶν γένος τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἐποτίζετο ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ ὄρους ἐκείνου. 9. τὸ δὲ ἑνατον ὄρος ὅλως ὕδωρ οὐκ εἶχεν καὶ ὅλον ἐρημῶδες ἦν, εἶχεν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ θηρία καὶ ἑρπετὰ θανάσιμα, διαφθείροντα ἀνθρώπους. τὸ δὲ δέκατον ὄρος εἶχε δένδρα μέγιστα, καὶ ὅλον κατὰσκιον ἦν, καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῶν δένδρων πρόβατα κατέκειντο ἀναπανόμενα καὶ μαρυκώμενα. 10. τὸ δὲ ἐνδέκατον ὄρος λίαν σύνδενδρον ἦν, καὶ τὰ δένδρα ἐκεῖνα κατάκαρπα ἦν, ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις καρποῖς κεκοσμημένα, ἵνα ἰδῶν τις αὐτὰ ἐπιθυμήσῃ φαγεῖν ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν. τὸ δὲ δωδέκατον ὄρος ὅλον ἦν λευκόν, καὶ ἡ πρόσοψις αὐτοῦ ἱλαρὰ λίαν· καὶ εὐπρεπέστατον ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ὄρος.

79 (IX.2)

Εἰς μέσον δὲ τοῦ πεδίου ἔδειξέ μοι πέτραν μεγάλην λευκὴν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀναβεβηκυῖαν. ἡ δὲ πέτρα ὑψη-

ered when the sun scorched them. 7. The fifth mountain was very rugged, but had green plants. The sixth mountain was completely full of rifts, some great and some small. There were plants in the rifts; the plants, however, were not flourishing but were wilted. 8. The seventh mountain had healthy plants and the entire mountain was flourishing, with every kind of animal and bird feeding on it. And the more the animals and birds grazed, the more the plants of the mountain thrived. The eighth mountain was full of springs, and every species of the Lord's creation was drinking from them. 9. The ninth mountain had no water whatsoever and was a complete wasteland; on it were wild beasts and poisonous reptiles that were destroying people. The tenth mountain had great trees and was completely shaded; sheep were lying at rest under the shade of the trees, chewing the cud. 10. The eleventh mountain was fully covered with fruit-bearing trees laden with various kinds of fruit, so that anyone who saw those trees would want to eat their fruit. And the twelfth mountain was completely white, with a cheerful appearance, a mountain extremely attractive in and of itself.

79 (IX.2)

In the middle of the plain he showed me an enormous white rock that had sprung up out of the plain. The rock

λοτέρα ἦν τῶν ὁρέων, τετράγωνος δέ, ὥστε δύνασθαι
 ὅλον τὸν κόσμον χωρῆσαι. 2. παλαιὰ δὲ ἦν ἡ πέτρα
 ἐκείνη πύλην ἐκκεκομμένην ἔχουσα· ὡς πρόσφατος δὲ
 ἐδόκει μοι εἶναι ἡ ἐκκόλαψις τῆς πύλης. ἡ δὲ πύλη
 οὕτως ἔστιλβεν ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον, ὥστε με θαυμάζειν
 ἐπὶ τῇ λαμπηδόνι τῆς πύλης. 3. κύκλῳ δὲ τῆς πύλης
 εἰστήκεισαν παρθένοι δώδεκα. αἱ οὖν τέσσαρες αἱ εἰς
 τὰς γωνίας ἐστηκυῖαι ἐνδοξότεραί μοι ἐδόκουν εἶναι·
 καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι δὲ ἐνδοξοὶ ἦσαν. εἰστήκεισαν δὲ εἰς τὰ
 τέσσαρα μέρη τῆς πύλης, ἀνὰ μέσον αὐτῶν ἀνὰ δύο
 παρθένοι. 4. ἐνδεδυμένοι δὲ ἦσαν λινοῦς χιτῶνας καὶ
 περιεζωσμένοι ἦσαν εὐπρεπῶς, ἔξω τοὺς ὤμους ἔχου-
 σαι τοὺς δεξιοὺς ὡς μέλλουσαι φορτίον τι βαστάζειν.
 οὕτως ἔτοιμαι ἦσαν· λίαν γὰρ ἱλαραὶ ἦσαν καὶ πρό-
 θυμοι. 5. μετὰ τὸ ἰδεῖν με ταῦτα ἐθαύμαζον ἐν ἑμαντῶ,
 ὅτι μεγάλα καὶ ἐνδοξα πράγματα ἔβλεπον. καὶ πάλιν
 ἠπορούμην ἐπὶ ταῖς παρθένοις, ὅτι τρυφεραὶ οὔσαι
 οὕτως ἀνδρείως εἰστήκεισαν ὡς μέλλουσαι ὅλον τὸν
 οὐρανὸν βαστάζειν. 6. καὶ λέγει μοι ὁ ποιμὴν· τί ἐν
 σεαυτῷ διαλογίζῃ καὶ ἀπορῇ καὶ σεαυτῷ λύπην ἐπι-
 σπᾶσαι; ὅσα γὰρ οὐ δύνη νοῆσαι, μὴ ἐπιχείρει ὡς¹⁶⁶
 συνετὸς ὢν, ἀλλ' ἐρώτα τὸν κύριον, ἵνα λαβὼν σύν-
 εσιν νοήσης αὐτά. 7. τὰ ὀπίσω σου ἰδεῖν οὐ δύνη, τὰ
 δὲ ἔμπροσθέν σου βλέπεις. ἃ οὖν ἰδεῖν οὐ δύνη,
 ἔασον, καὶ¹⁶⁷ σεαυτὸν μὴ στρέβλον· ἃ βλέπεις δέ,
 ἐκείνων κατακυρίευσεν, καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν μὴ περι-
 εργάζου· πάντα δέ σοι ἐγὼ δηλώσω, ὅσα ἐάν σοι¹⁶⁸
 δείξω. ἔμβλεπε οὖν τοῖς λοιποῖς.

was higher than the mountains, square-shaped, large enough to hold the entire world. 2. That rock was ancient, and had a gate chiseled into it. But the chiseling of the gate appeared recent to me. And the gate shone brighter than the sun, so that I was amazed at its radiance. 3. Around the gate stood twelve virgins. The four who stood at the corners seemed particularly glorious to me (although the others were also glorious); these stood at the four sides of the gate, each of them with two virgins between them. 4. They were clothed in linen tunics and beautifully belted; their right shoulders were uncovered, as if they were about to lift a burden. Thus they were prepared; and they were exceedingly cheerful and eager. 5. After I had observed these things I began to marvel at the great and glorious things I was seeing. And I became perplexed again at the virgins, because even though they were delicate, they stood like men, as if they were about to lift up the entire sky. 6. And the shepherd said to me, "Why are you debating within yourself and perplexed, causing yourself grief? Do not try to comprehend what is beyond your power, as if you could understand, but ask the Lord for the understanding necessary to comprehend these things. 7. You cannot see what lies behind you; but you do see what lies ahead. And so, let go of what you cannot see and do not bother yourself about it. But exercise mastery over what you do see, without being overly inquisitive about the rest. I will explain to you everything I show you. Consider now the rest."

¹⁶⁶ ὥς M L L C¹: om A (E)

¹⁶⁷ ἕασον καὶ A L² E C¹: om. M L¹

¹⁶⁸ ἐγὼ . . . σοι A L¹ E C¹: om. M L²

Εἶδον ἐξ ἀνδρας ἐληλυθότας ὑψηλοὺς καὶ ἐνδόξους καὶ ὁμοίους τῇ ἰδέᾳ· ἐκάλεσαν δὲ πληθὸς τι ἀνδρῶν. κἀκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ ἐληλυθότες ὑψηλοὶ ἄνδρες καὶ λίαν καλοὶ καὶ δυνατοὶ ᾗσαν· καὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐξ ἄνδρες οἰκοδομεῖν ἐπάνω τῆς πέτρας πύργον τινά. ἦν δὲ μέγας θόρυβος τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῶν ἐληλυθότων οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν πύργον, ὥδε κἀκεῖ περιτρεχόντων κύκλῳ τῆς πύλης· 2. αἱ δὲ παρθένοι ἐστηκύναι περὶ τὴν πύλην ἔλεγον τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπεύδειν¹⁶⁹ οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸν πύργον. ἐκπεπετάκεισαν δὲ τὰς χεῖρας αἱ παρθένοι ὡς μέλλουσαί τι λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. 3. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄνδρες ἐκέλευον ἐκ βυθοῦ τινος λίθους ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ὑπάγειν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. ἀνέβησαν δὲ λίθοι ἰ' τετράγωνοι λαμπροί, μὴ¹⁷⁰ λελατομημένοι. 4. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄνδρες ἐκάλουν τὰς παρθένους καὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὰς τοὺς λίθους πάντας τοὺς μέλλοντας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ὑπάγειν τοῦ πύργου βαστάζειν καὶ διαπορεύεσθαι διὰ τῆς πύλης, καὶ ἐπιδιδόναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς μέλλουσιν οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν πύργον. 5. αἱ δὲ παρθένοι τοὺς δέκα λίθους τοὺς πρώτους τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἀναβάντας ἐπετίθουν ἀλλήλαις καὶ κατὰ ἓνα λίθον ἐβασταζον ὁμοῦ.

¹⁶⁹ σπεύδειν A L² E C C: add δεῖν M L¹

¹⁷⁰ μὴ cj. R. Anger

80 (IX.3)

I saw six tall and glorious men coming, who all looked alike. And they called a great multitude of men. Those who were coming were also tall men, very beautiful, and strong. The six men commanded them to build a tower upon the rock. There was a great disturbance among those men who had come to build the tower, as they were running back and forth around the gate. 2. The virgins who were standing beside the gate began telling the men to hurry and build the tower. And the virgins stretched out their hands as if they were about to take something from the men. 3. The six men ordered stones to come up out of a great depth for the building of the tower. Ten stones came up, square, bright, and unhewed. 4. The six men called the virgins and ordered them to lift all the stones that were about to appear for the building of the tower, then to pass through the gate and give them to the men who were about to build it. 5. The virgins took the first ten stones that came up from the depths and loaded them on one another; and they were carrying them in unison, like a single stone [*Or: one stone at a time*].

Καθὼς δὲ ἐστάθησαν ὁμοῦ κύκλῳ τῆς πύλης, οὕτως ἐβάσταζον αἱ δοκοῦσαι δυναταὶ εἶναι, καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς γωνίας τοῦ λίθου ὑποδεδυκῦναι ἦσαν· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ἐκ τῶν πλευρῶν τοῦ λίθου ὑποδεδύκεισαν, καὶ οὕτως ἐβάσταζον πάντας τοὺς λίθους· διὰ δὲ τῆς πύλης διέφερον αὐτούς, καθὼς ἐκελεύσθησαν, καὶ ἐπεδίδουν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἰς τὸν πύργον· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς λίθους¹⁷¹ ᾠκοδόμουν. 2. ἡ οἰκοδομὴ δὲ τοῦ πύργου ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπάνω τῆς πύλης. ἡρμόσθησαν οἱ ἰ' λίθοι ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ ἐνέπλησαν ὅλην τὴν πέτραν. καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐκεῖνοι¹⁷² θεμέλιος τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ πύργου. ἡ δὲ πέτρα καὶ ἡ πύλη ἦν βαστάζουσα ὅλον τὸν πύργον. 3. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἰ' λίθους ἄλλοι ἀνέβησαν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ κε'¹⁷³ λίθοι· καὶ οὗτοι ἡρμόσθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου, βασταζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων καθὼς καὶ οἱ πρότεροι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἀνέβησαν λέ'· καὶ οὗτοι ὁμοίως ἡρμόσθησαν εἰς τὸν πύργον. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἕτεροι ἀνέβησαν λίθοι μ'· καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου· ἐγένοντο οὖν στοῖχοι τέσσαρες ἐν τοῖς θεμελίοις τοῦ πύργου.¹⁷⁴ 4. καὶ ἐπαύσαντο ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἀναβαίνοντες· ἐπαύσαντο δὲ καὶ οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες μικρόν. καὶ πάλιν ἐπέταξαν οἱ ἑξ ἄνδρες τῷ πλήθει τοῦ ὄχλου ἐκ τῶν ὁρέων παραφέρειν λίθους εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. 5. παρεφέροντο οὖν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ὁρέων χροαῖς ποικίλαις λελατο-

81 (IX.4)

The strong-looking virgins carried the stone by getting up under its corners, standing in the same formation as they were around gate; and the others got up under the sides of the stone. That is how they carried all the stones. They brought them through the gate, just as they were ordered, and handed them over to the men in the tower. Once the men had the stones, they began to build. 2. The tower was built on the enormous rock and above the gate. Those ten stones were fit together and filled the entire rock. And they became a foundation for the building of the tower. The rock and the gate were supporting the entire tower. 3. After the ten stones, another twenty-five stones came up from the depths. And these were fit into the building of the tower, carried by the virgins like the earlier ones. After these, thirty-five came up; these were likewise fit into the tower. After these another forty came up; all these were also placed in the building of the tower. And so there were four tiers in the foundations of the tower. 4. The stones stopped coming up from the depths, and those who were doing the building also stopped for a while. Then the six men again issued orders for the multitude of the crowd to bring stones from the mountains for the building of the tower. 5. And so stones of various colors were brought from the mountains, hewn by men and given over to the virgins.

171 εἰς . . . λίθους A L L E C²: οἱ C¹

172 καὶ ἐνέπλησαν . . . ἐκείνοι L² E (L¹ C¹): om. A

173 κέ' L L: κ' A: ιέ' E

174 ἐγένοντο . . . πύργου L² (L¹ E C C): om. A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

μημένοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐπεδίδοντο ταῖς παρ-
 θένους· αἱ δὲ παρθένοι διέφερον αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς πύλης
 καὶ ἐπεδίδουν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. καὶ ὅταν
 εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἐτέθησαν οἱ λίθοι οἱ ποικίλοι, ὅμοι-
 οὶ ἐγένοντο λευκοὶ καὶ τὰς χροᾶς τὰς προτέρας ἤλ-
 λασσον. 6. τινὲς δὲ λίθοι ἐπεδίδοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν, καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνοντο λαμπροί, ἀλλ'
 οἶοι ἐτέθησαν, τοιοῦτοι καὶ ᾗσαν· οὐ γὰρ ᾗσαν ἀπὸ
 τῶν παρθένων ἐπιδεδομένοι οὐδὲ¹⁷⁵ διὰ τῆς πύλης
 παρενηνεγμένοι.¹⁷⁶ οὗτοι οὖν οἱ λίθοι ἀπρεπεῖς ᾗσαν
 ἐν τῇ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ πύργου. 7. εἶδον δὲ οἱ ἕξ ἄνδρες
 τοὺς λίθους τούτους ἀπρεπεῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκοδομῇ καὶ
 ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς ἀρθῆναι καὶ ἀπενεχθῆναι κάτω εἰς
 τὸν ἴδιον τόπον ὅθεν ᾗνέχθησαν. 8. καὶ λέγουσι τοῖς
 ἀνδράσι τοῖς παρεμφέρουσι τοὺς λίθους· ὅλως ὑμεῖς
 μὴ ἐπιδίδοτε εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν λίθους· τίθετε δὲ αὐ-
 τοὺς παρὰ τὸν πύργον, ἵνα αἱ παρθένοι διὰ τῆς πύλης
 παρενέγκωσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιδιδῶσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκο-
 δομὴν. ἐὰν γάρ, φασίν,¹⁷⁷ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν παρθέ-
 νων τούτων μὴ διενεχθῶσι διὰ τῆς πύλης, τὰς χροᾶς
 αὐτῶν ἀλλάξαι οὐ δύνανται· μὴ κοπιᾶτε οὖν, φασίν,¹⁷⁸
 εἰς μάτην.

82 (IX.5)

Καὶ ἐτελέσθη ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ οἰκοδομή, οὐκ ἀπε-
 τελέσθη δὲ ὁ πύργος· ἔμελλε γὰρ πάλιν ἐποικο-
 δομεῖσθαι· ἐγένετο δὲ ἀνοχὴ τις¹⁷⁹ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς.

The virgins carried them through the gate and gave them over for the building of the tower. When the various stones were placed in the building, they changed their former colors and all alike became white. 6. But some of the stones were instead given over by the men for the building; these did not become bright but remained as they were when placed in the building. For they were not given over by the virgins nor carried through the gate. And so these stones were not suitable for the building of the tower. 7. The six men saw these stones that were not suitable for the tower and ordered them to be removed and carried back down to the place from which they had been brought. 8. They said to the men who were bringing in the stones, "You must not hand over any of the stones for the building of the tower yourselves. But place them next to the tower, that the virgins may carry them through the gate and hand them over for the building. For if they are not carried through the gate by the hands of the virgins," they said, "they cannot change their colors. And so," they said, "do not labor in vain."

82 (IX.5)

The building was finished on that day, but the tower was not completed, for it was still to have some construction done on it, and there was a delay in the building. The six

¹⁷⁵ ἐπιδεδομένοι οὐδὲ M A E C C: om. L L

¹⁷⁶ οὐδὲ . . . παρενηνεγμένοι A (L L) E C C: om. M

¹⁷⁷ φασίν (C¹): φησίν M A: om. L L E

¹⁷⁸ φασίν A C¹: φησίν M: om. L L E

¹⁷⁹ τις M L¹ C C: om. A L² E

ἐκέλευσαν δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐξ ἄνδρες τοὺς οἰκοδομοῦντας ἀναχωρῆσαι καὶ ὥσει¹⁸⁰ ἀναπαῆναι.¹⁸¹ ταῖς δὲ παρθένοις ἐπέταξαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου μὴ ἀναχωρεῖν. ἐδόκει δέ μοι τὰς παρθένους καταλελείφθαι τοῦ φυλάσσειν τὸν πύργον. 2. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναχωρῆσαι πάντας καὶ ἀναπαῆναι λέγω τῷ ποιμένι· τί ὅτι, φημί, κύριε, οὐ συνετελέσθη ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου; οὐπω, φησί, δύναται ἀποτελεσθῆναι ὁ πύργος, ἐὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ καὶ δοκιμάσῃ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ταύτην, ἵνα ἐάν τινες λίθοι σαπροὶ εὔρεθῶσιν, ἀλλάξῃ αὐτούς· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἐκείνου θέλημα οἰκοδομεῖται ὁ πύργος. 3. ἤθελον, φημί, κύριε, τούτου τοῦ πύργου γνῶναι τί ἐστὶν ἡ οἰκοδομὴ αὕτη, καὶ περὶ τῆς πέτρας καὶ πύλης καὶ τῶν ὀρέων καὶ τῶν παρθένων, καὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἀναβεβηκότων καὶ μὴ λελατομημένων, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀπελθόντων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν. 4. καὶ διατί πρῶτον εἰς τὰ θεμέλια ἰ' λίθοι ἐτέθησαν, εἶτα κ',¹⁸² εἶτα λ', εἶτα μ', καὶ περὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἀπεληλυθόντων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν καὶ πάλιν ἡρμένων καὶ εἰς τόπον ἴδιον ἀποτεθειμένων· περὶ πάντων τούτων ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν μου, κύριε, καὶ γνώρισόν μοι αὐτά. 5. ἐάν, φησί, κενόσπουδος μὴ εὔρεθῇς, πάντα γνώσῃ. μετ' ὀλίγας γὰρ ἡμέρας ἐλευσόμεθα ἐνθάδε, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅψει τὰ ἐπερχόμενα τῷ πύργῳ τούτῳ καὶ πάσας τὰς παραβολὰς ἀκριβῶς γνώσῃ. 6. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἦλθομεν εἰς τὸν τόπον οὗ κεκαθήκαμεν, καὶ λέγει μοι· ἄγωμεν παρὰ τὸν πύργον· ὁ γὰρ αὐθέντης τοῦ πύργου ἔρχεται κατανοῆσαι αὐτόν. καὶ ἦλθομεν

men ordered those who had been building it to leave and get some rest. But they commanded the virgins not to leave the tower. It seemed to me that the virgins stayed to guard the tower. 2. After everyone had left to find some rest, I said to the shepherd, "Why is it, Lord, that the building of the tower has not been completed?" "The tower cannot be finished," he replied, "until its lord comes and examines the building, so that if some of the stones are found to be rotten he can change them. For the tower is built because of his will." 3. "I want to know, Lord," I said, "what the building of this tower is, and about the rock and gate and the mountains and the virgins, and about the stones that have come up from the depths without being hewed, but have come in this way for the building. 4. And why first the ten stones were placed for the foundation, then twenty-five, then thirty-five, then forty, and about the stones that came into the tower but then were removed and taken to their own place. Put my soul to rest about all these matters, Lord, and explain them to me." 5. "If it turns out that your interests are not simply frivolous," he replied, "you will come to understand everything. For after a few days we will come back here, and you will see the rest of what is to happen to this tower, and you will understand all these parables accurately." 6. After a few days we came to the place where we had been sitting, and he said to me, "Let us go to the tower. For the ruler of the tower is coming

180 ὥστεῖ M L¹ : om. A L² E C C

181 ἀναπαῆναι M E C C: ἀναπανθῆναι A: add *aliquid* L¹ (L²)

182 κέ' L L C C: κ' A: ιέ' E

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

πρὸς τὸν πύργον· καὶ ὅλως οὐθεὶς ἦν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ αἱ παρθένοι μόναι. 7. καὶ ἐπερωτᾷ ὁ ποιμὴν τὰς παρθένους εἰ ἄρα παραγεγόνει ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ πύργου. αἱ δὲ ἔφησαν μέλλειν αὐτὸν ἔρχεσθαι κατανοῆσαι τὴν οἰκοδομήν.

83 (IX.6)

Καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ μικρὸν βλέπω παράταξιν πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐρχομένων· καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀνὴρ τις ὑψηλὸς τῷ μεγέθει, ὥστε τὸν πύργον ὑπερέχειν. 2. καὶ οἱ ἑξ ἄνδρες οἱ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν ἐφεστῶτες ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν περιεπάτησαν μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντες οἱ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν ἐργασάμενοι μετ' αὐτοῦ ἦσαν, καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοὶ κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ἔνδοξοι. αἱ δὲ παρθένοι αἱ τηροῦσαι τὸν πύργον προσδραμοῦσαι κατεφίλησαν αὐτόν, καὶ ἤρξαντο ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ περιπατεῖν κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου. 3. κατενόει δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος τὴν οἰκοδόμην ἀκριβῶς, ὥστε αὐτὸν καθ' ἓνα λίθον ψηλαφᾶν. κρατῶν δέ τινα ῥάβδον τῇ χειρὶ κατὰ ἓνα λίθον τῶν ὠκοδομημένων τρὶς ἔτυπτε.¹⁸³ 4. καὶ ὅταν ἐπάτασσειν, ἐγένοντο αὐτῶν τινες μέλανες ὥσεί ἀσβόλη, τινὲς δὲ ἐψωριακότες, τινὲς δὲ σχισμὰς ἔχοντες, τινὲς δὲ κολοβοί, τινὲς δὲ οὔτε λευκοὶ οὔτε μέλανες, τινὲς δὲ τραχεῖς καὶ μὴ συμφωνοῦντες τοῖς ἐτέροις λίθοις, τινὲς δὲ σπίλους πολλοὺς ἔχοντες· αὗται ἦσαν αἱ ποικιλίαι τῶν λίθων τῶν σαπρῶν εὐρεθέντων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν. 5. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν πάντας τούτους ἐκ τοῦ πύργου μετ-

to examine it." We came to the tower, and there was no one beside it except the virgins. 7. The shepherd asked the virgins if the master of the tower had arrived. They replied that he was about to come to examine the building.

83 (IX.6)

And look! After a short while I saw a large company of men coming. In their midst was a man so tall that he rose above the tower. 2. The six men who were in charge of the building walked along with him on his right side and left; and everyone who had been working on the building was with him, with many other glorious people all around. The virgins who were keeping watch over the tower ran up and kissed him, and they started walking near him around the tower. 3. That man examined the building carefully, touching each stone, one by one. He took a rod in his hand and struck each and every stone of the building three times. 4. When he hit them, some became black as soot, some became rough, some developed cracks, some were broken off, and some were neither white nor black; some became uneven and did not fit with the other stones, and some developed numerous stains. These were the various kinds of rotten stones found in the building. 5. And so he ordered all these to be taken out of the tower and placed next to it,

¹⁸³ τρὶς ἔτυπτε A: ἔτυπτε L¹ E: om. L²

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ενεχθῆναι καὶ τεθῆναι παρὰ τὸν πύργον, καὶ ἑτέρους
 ἐνεχθῆναι λίθους καὶ ἐμβληθῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐ-
 τῶν. 6. καὶ ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, ἐκ
 τίνος ὅρους θέλει ἐνεχθῆναι λίθους καὶ ἐμβληθῆναι
 εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐκ μὲν τῶν ὁρέων οὐκ ἐκ-
 ἔλευσεν ἐνεχθῆναι, ἐκ δέ τινος πεδίου ἐγγὺς ὄντος
 ἐκέλευσεν ἐνεχθῆναι. 7. καὶ ὠρύγη τὸ πεδίου, καὶ
 εὗρέθησαν λίθοι λαμπροὶ τετράγωνοι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ
 στρογγύλοι. ὅσοι δέ ποτε ἦσαν λίθοι ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ
 ἐκείνῳ, πάντες ἠνέχθησαν, καὶ διὰ τῆς πύλης ἐβα-
 στάζοντο ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων. 8. καὶ ἐλατομήθησαν οἱ
 τετράγωνοι λίθοι καὶ ἐτέθησαν εἰς τὸν τόπον τῶν
 ἡρμένων· οἱ δὲ στρογγύλοι οὐκ ἐτέθησαν εἰς τὴν
 οἰκοδομήν, ὅτι σκληροὶ ἦσαν εἰς τὸ λατομηθῆναι
 αὐτούς, καὶ βραδέως ἐγένετο.¹⁸⁴ ἐτέθησαν δὲ παρὰ τὸν
 πύργον, ὡς μελλόντων αὐτῶν λατομείσθαι καὶ τίθε-
 σθαι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν· λίαν γὰρ λαμπροὶ ἦσαν.

84 (IX.7)

Ταῦτα οὖν συντελέσας ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἔνδοξος καὶ κύριος
 ὅλου τοῦ πύργου προσεκαλέσατο τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ
 παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ τοὺς λίθους πάντας τοὺς παρὰ τὸν
 πύργον κειμένους, τοὺς ἀποβεβλημένους ἐκ τῆς οἰκο-
 δομῆς, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· 2. ἐπιμελῶς καθάρισον τοὺς
 λίθους τούτους καὶ θές αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν τοῦ
 πύργου, τοὺς δυναμένους ἀρμόσαι τοῖς λοιποῖς· τοὺς
 δὲ μὴ ἀρμόζοντας ῥῖψον μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου.

and other stones to be brought and put in their place. 6. The builders asked him from which mountain he wanted the replacement stones to be brought. He ordered them not to be brought from the mountains, but from a plain nearby. 7. The plain was dug up, and bright square stones were found, along with some that were rounded. All the stones that were in that plain were brought and carried through the gate by the virgins. 8. The square stones were hewed and used to replace the ones that had been removed. But the round stones were not placed in the building, because they were too hard to hew and it took a long time. But they were placed beside the tower, because they were about to be hewed and placed in the building. For they were very bright.

84 (IX.7)

When the glorious man, the lord of the entire tower, had finished these things, he called to the shepherd and delivered over to him all the stones that were lying beside the tower, which had been thrown out from the building. He said to him, 2. "Clean these stones carefully and place the ones that can be fit together with the rest in the building of the tower; but those that do not fit cast far away from the

¹⁸⁴ βραδέως ἐγένετο cj. Gebhardt: *tardum videbatur ut circumciderentur* (*circumcidere eos* L¹, thus εἰς τὸ λατομηθῆναι αὐτοὺς) L L: *longa erat fabrica* E: βραδέως ἐγένοντο A

3. ταῦτα κελεύσας τῷ ποιμένι ἀπήλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου¹⁸⁵ μετὰ πάντων ὧν ἐληλύθει. αἱ δὲ παρθέναι κύκλω τοῦ πύργου εἰστήκεισαν τηροῦσαι αὐτόν. 4. λέγω τῷ ποιμένι· πῶς οὗτοι οἱ λίθοι δύνανται εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου ἀπελθεῖν ἀποδοκιμασμένοι; ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· βλέπεις, φησί, τοὺς λίθους τούτους; βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. ἐγώ, φησί, τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῶν λίθων τούτων λατομήσω καὶ βαλῶ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν, καὶ ἀρμόσουσι μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν λίθων. 5. πῶς, φημί, κύριε, δύνανται περικοπέντες τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον πληρῶσαι; ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει μοι· ὅσοι μικροὶ εὑρεθῇσονται, εἰς μέσην τῆς οἰκοδομῆς βληθήσονται, ὅσοι δὲ μείζονες, ἐξώτεροι τεθήσονται καὶ συγκρατήσουσιν αὐτούς. 6. ταῦτά μοι λαλήσας λέγει μοι· ἄγωμεν καὶ μετὰ ἡμέρας δύο¹⁸⁶ ἔλθωμεν καὶ καθαρίσωμεν τοὺς λίθους τούτους, καὶ βάλωμεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν· τὰ γὰρ κύκλω τοῦ πύργου πάντα καθαρίσθῃναι δεῖ, μήποτε ὁ δεσπότης ἐξάπινα ἔλθῃ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν πύργον ῥυπαρὰ εὔρη καὶ προσοχθίσῃ, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ λίθοι οὐκ ἀπελεύσονται εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου, ἀγὰρ ἀμελὲς δόξω εἶναι παρὰ τῷ δεσπότη. 7. καὶ μετὰ ἡμέρας δύο ἦλθομεν πρὸς τὸν πύργον, καὶ λέγει μοι· κατανοήσωμεν τοὺς λίθους πάντας καὶ ἴδωμεν τοὺς δυναμένους εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀπελθεῖν. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, κατανοήσωμεν.

¹⁸⁵ ταῦτα . . . πύργου L¹ (L² E) C¹: om. A

¹⁸⁶ ἡμέρας δύο A L² E C¹: *triduum* L¹

tower." 3. When he ordered the shepherd to do these things he went away from the tower with everyone who had come; but the virgins stood around the tower to watch over it. 4. I said to the shepherd, "How can these stones that have not passed muster go back into the tower?" He answered me, "Do you see these stones?" "Yes, I see them, Lord," I said. "I will hew most of these stones," he said, "and place them in the building, and they will fit with the other stones." 5. "How, Lord," I asked, "can they be trimmed to fill the same spot?" He answered me, "All those that are found to be small will be placed in the middle of the building; but those that are large will be placed facing outward to provide them with support." 6. Having told me these things he said to me, "Let us go and after two days return to wash these stones and place them in the building. For everything around the tower must be cleaned, lest the master come suddenly and find that it is dirty around the tower and be provoked; and these stones then will not go into the building of the tower and I will seem careless to the master." 7. After two days we came to the tower and he said to me, "Let's examine all the stones and see which ones can go into the building." I replied to him, "Yes, Lord, let's examine them."

Καὶ ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτον τοὺς μέλανας κατενοοῦμεν λίθους. καὶ οἱοὶ ἐκ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἐτέθησαν, τοιοῦτοι καὶ εὐρέθησαν. καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ὁ ποιμὴν ἐκ τοῦ πύργου μετενεχθῆναι καὶ χωρισθῆναι. 2. εἶτα κατενόησε τοὺς ἐψωριακότας, καὶ λαβὼν ἐλατόμησε πολλοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκέλευσε τὰς παρθένους ἄραι αὐτοὺς καὶ βαλεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν. καὶ ἦσαν αὐτοὺς αἱ παρθένοι καὶ ἔθηκαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου μέσου. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκέλευσε μετὰ τῶν μελάνων τεθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι μέλανες εὐρέθησαν. 3. εἶτα κατενόει τοὺς τὰς σχισμὰς ἔχοντας· καὶ ἐκ τούτων πολλοὺς ἐλατόμησε καὶ ἐκέλευσε διὰ τῶν παρθένων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀπενεχθῆναι· ἐξώτεροι δὲ ἐτέθησαν, ὅτι ὑγιέστεροι εὐρέθησαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σχισμάτων οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν λατομηθῆναι· διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπεβλήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ πύργου. 4. εἶτα κατενόει τοὺς κολοβούς, καὶ εὐρέθησαν πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς μέλανες, τινὲς δὲ σχισμὰς μεγάλας πεποιηκότες· καὶ ἐκέλευσε καὶ τούτους τεθῆναι μετὰ τῶν ἀποβεβλημένων. τοὺς δὲ περισσεύοντας αὐτῶν καθάρισας καὶ λατομήσας ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τεθῆναι. αἱ δὲ παρθένοι αὐτοὺς ἄρασαι εἰς μέσσην τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου ἤρμωσαν· ἀσθενέστεροι γὰρ ἦσαν. 5. εἶτα κατενόει τοὺς ἡμίσεις λευκοὺς, ἡμίσεις δὲ μέλανας· καὶ πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐρέθησαν μέλανες. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τούτους ἀρθῆναι¹⁸⁷

85 (IX.8)

We began by examining the black stones, and found them to be just as they were when they were placed outside the building. The shepherd ordered them to be carried out and removed from the tower. 2. Then he examined those that had a rough surface; and he took and hewed many of these, and ordered the virgins to take them and place them in the building. The virgins took them and placed them in the building, in the middle of the tower. He ordered the rest to be put with the black stones because they were also black. 3. Then he began to examine the ones that had cracks. He hewed many of these and ordered them to be brought into the building by the virgins. They were placed facing outward, because they were especially strong. But the rest could not be hewed because they had too many cracks; so they were cast away from the building of the tower. 4. Then he began to examine the ones that were broken off. Many of them were found to be black, and some had developed great cracks. He ordered these to be set with those that had been cast out. But after he cleaned and hewed most of these, he ordered them to be placed inside the building. The virgins took these and fit them in the middle of the building of the tower, because they were rather weak. 5. Then he began to examine the stones that had been half white and half black. Many of these were found to be black. He ordered them to be taken away with

¹⁸⁷ ἀρθῆναι A L¹ E: add καὶ τεθῆναι L²

μετὰ τῶν ἀποβεβλημένων. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἤρθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων· λευκοὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἡρμόσθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν παρθένων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν· ἐξώτεροι δὲ ἐτέθησαν, ὅτι ὑγιεῖς εὐρέθησαν, ὥστε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς κρατεῖν τοὺς εἰς τὸ μέσον τεθέντας· ὅλως γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἐκολοβώθη. 6. εἶτα κατενόει τοὺς τραχεῖς καὶ σκληροὺς, καὶ ὀλίγοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπεβλήθησαν διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι λατομηθῆναι· σκληροὶ γὰρ λίαν εὐρέθησαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ αὐτῶν ἐλατομήθησαν καὶ ἤρθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων καὶ εἰς μέσσην τὴν οἰκοδομήν τοῦ πύργου ἡρμόσθησαν· ἀσθενέστεροι γὰρ ἦσαν. 7. εἶτα κατενόει τοὺς ἔχοντας τοὺς σπίλους, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐλάχιστοι ἐμελάνησαν, καὶ ἀπεβλήθησαν πρὸς τοὺς λοιπούς. οἱ δὲ περισσεύοντες λαμπροὶ καὶ ὑγιεῖς¹⁸⁸ εὐρέθησαν· καὶ οὗτοι ἡρμόσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν· ἐξώτεροι δὲ ἐτέθησαν διὰ τὴν ἰσχυρότητα αὐτῶν.

86 (IX.9)

Εἶτα ἦλθε κατανοῆσαι τοὺς λευκοὺς καὶ στρογγύλους λίθους, καὶ λέγει μοι· τί ποιούμεν περὶ τούτων τῶν λίθων; τί, φημί, ἐγὼ γινώσκω, κύριε; οὐδὲν οὖν ἐπινοεῖς περὶ αὐτῶν; 2. ἐγώ, φημί, κύριε, ταύτην τὴν τέχνην οὐκ ἔχω, οὐδὲ λατόμος εἰμί, οὐδὲ δύναμαι νοῆσαι.¹⁸⁹ οὐ βλέπεις αὐτούς, φησί, λίαν στρογγύλους ὄντας; καὶ ἐὰν αὐτοὺς θελήσω τετραγώνους ποιῆσαι, πολὺ δεῖ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποκοπῆναι· δεῖ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν

those that had been cast out. But all the rest were taken by the virgins. And since they were white, they were fit by the virgins themselves into the tower. But they were placed facing outward, because they were sound and able to support those in the middle. For nothing at all was broken off from them. 6. Then he began to examine the stones that were rugged and hard. A few of these were cast away because they could not be hewed, for they were extremely hard. But the rest were hewed and taken by the virgins and fit into the middle of the building of the tower. For they were somewhat weak. 7. Then he began to examine the stones that had stains; a few of these had turned black and were cast out with the others. But most of them were found to be bright and sound; these were fit into the building by the virgins. They were placed facing outward because of their considerable strength.

86 (IX.9)

Then he came to examine the stones that were white and rounded, and he said to me, "What should we do with these stones?" "How would I know, Lord?" I replied. "Then don't you notice anything about them?" 2. "I don't have the right skill, Lord," I said. "I am not a stone mason and do not understand." "Don't you see that they are extremely rounded?" he asked. "And if I want to make them square, I will have to cut a good deal away from them? But

¹⁸⁸ καὶ ὑγιεῖς L L: καὶ ἐκείνοι A: om. E

¹⁸⁹ νοῆσαι A E: add τι L L (E)

ἐξ ἀνάγκης τινὰς εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τεθῆναι. 3. εἰ οὖν, φημί, κύριε, ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ, τί σεαυτὸν βασανίζεις καὶ οὐκ ἐκλέγῃ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν οὓς θέλεις, καὶ ἀρμόζεις εἰς αὐτήν; ἐξελέξατο ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς μείζονας καὶ λαμπροὺς, καὶ ἐλατόμησεν αὐτούς· αἱ δὲ παρθένοι ἄρασαι ἤρμωσαν εἰς τὰ ἐξώτερα μέρη τῆς οἰκοδομῆς. 4. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ οἱ περισσεύσαντες ἤρθησαν καὶ ἀπετέθησαν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, ὅθεν ἠνέχθησαν· οὐκ ἀπεβλήθησαν δέ, ὅτι, φησί, λείπει τῷ πύργῳ ἔτι μικρὸν οἰκοδομηθῆναι. πάντως δὲ θέλει ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ πύργου τούτους¹⁹⁰ ἁρμοσθῆναι τοὺς λίθους εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν, ὅτι λαμπροὶ εἰσι λίαν. 5. ἐκλήθησαν δὲ γυναῖκες δώδεκα, εὐειδέσταται τῷ χαρακτήρι, μέλανα ἐνδεδυμένοι, περιεζωσμένοι καὶ ἔξω τοὺς ὤμους ἔχουσai,¹⁹¹ καὶ τὰς τρίχας λελυμένοι. ἔδοκοῦσαν δέ μοι αἱ γυναῖκες αὗται ἄγριαι εἶναι. ἐκέλευσε δὲ αὐτὰς ὁ ποιμὴν ἄραι τοὺς λίθους τοὺς ἀποβεβλημένους ἐκ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς καὶ ἀπενεγκεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ ὄρη, ὅθεν καὶ ἠνέχθησαν. 6. αἱ δὲ ἱλαραὶ ἦσαν καὶ ἀπήνεγκαν πάντας τοὺς λίθους καὶ ἔθηκαν, ὅθεν ἐλήφθησαν. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀρθῆναι πάντας τοὺς λίθους καὶ μηκέτι κείσθαι λίθον κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου, λέγει μοι ὁ ποιμὴν· κυκλώσωμεν τὸν πύργον καὶ ἴδωμεν, μή τι ἐλάττωμά ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἐκύκλευον ἐγὼ μετ' αὐτοῦ. 7. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν τὸν πύργον εὐπρεπῆ ὄντα τῇ οἰκοδομῇ, λίαν ἱλαρὸς ἦν· ὁ γὰρ πύργος οὕτως ἦν ὠκοδομημένος, ὥστε με ἰδόντα ἐπιθυμεῖν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν αὐτοῦ· οὕτω γὰρ ἦν ὠκοδομημένος, ὥσαν ἐξ ἑνὸς λίθου, μὴ

some of them must be placed in the building.” 3. “If so, Lord,” I said, “why create such a burden for yourself? Why not simply pick the ones you want for the building and fit them into it?” So he chose the biggest and brightest among them and hewed them. And the virgins took them and fit them into the outer parts of the building. 4. The others, which were left over, were taken and set in the plain from which they had been brought. But they were not cast away, “because,” he said, “there is still a small portion of the tower yet to be built, and the Master of the tower wants these stones to be fit into the building, since they are so bright.” 5. Twelve women were called, extremely beautiful in appearance, dressed in black, belted, with uncovered shoulders and loose hair. These women seemed wild to me. The shepherd ordered them to remove the stones that had been cast out from the building and to take them away to the mountains from which they had been brought. 6. They cheerfully took all the stones and carried them away to return them to the place from which they had been removed. After all the stones had been taken away and there were no more stones around the tower, the shepherd said to me, “Let us go around the tower to make sure there is no defect in it.” And I went around with him. 7. When the shepherd saw that the tower was beautifully built, he was extremely cheerful. The tower was so built that I marveled at the construction. For it was built as if it came from

¹⁹⁰ τούτους A L¹: τούτου L² E

¹⁹¹ περιεζωσμέναι . . . ἔχουσαι L¹ (L² E): om. A

ἔχων μίαν ἀρμογὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ. ἐφαίνετο δὲ ὁ λίθος ὡς ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ἐκκεκολαμμένος· μονόλιθος γάρ μοι ἐδόκει εἶναι.

87 (IX.10)

Κἀγὼ περιπατῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ¹⁹² ἱλαρὸς ἤμην τοιαῦτα ἀγαθὰ βλέπων. λέγει δέ μοι ὁ ποιμήν· ὕπαγε καὶ φέρε ἄσβεστον καὶ ὄστρακον λεπτόν, ἵνα τοὺς τύπους τῶν λίθων τῶν ἡρμένων καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν βεβλημένων ἀναπληρώσω· δεῖ γὰρ τοῦ πύργου τὰ κύκλω πάντα ὁμαλὰ γενέσθαι. 2. καὶ ἐποίησα καθὼς ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἤνεγκα πρὸς αὐτόν. ὑπηρετεῖ μοι, φησί, καὶ ἐγγὺς τὸ ἔργον τελεσθήσεται. ἐπλήρωσεν οὖν τοὺς τύπους τῶν λίθων τῶν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀπεληλυθόντων καὶ ἐκέλευσε σαρωθῆναι τὰ κύκλω τοῦ πύργου καὶ καθαρὰ γενέσθαι. 3. αἱ δὲ παρθένοι λαβοῦσαι σάρους ἐσάρωσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ κόπρια ἦραν ἐκ τοῦ πύργου, καὶ ἔρραναν ὕδωρ, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ τόπος ἱλαρὸς καὶ εὐπρεπέστατος τοῦ πύργου. 4. λέγει μοι ὁ ποιμήν· πάντα, φησί, κεκάθαρται· ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος ἐπισκέψασθαι τὸν πύργον, οὐκ ἔχει ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν μέμψασθαι. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἤθελεν ὑπάγειν. 5. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπελαβόμεν αὐτοῦ τῆς πῆρας καὶ ἡρξάμεν αὐτὸν ὀρκίζειν κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα μοι ἐπιλύσῃ, ἃ ἔδειξέ μοι. λέγει μοι· μικρὸν ἔχω ἀκαιρεθῆναι καὶ πάντα σοι ἐπιλύσω· ἔκδεξαί με ὧδε ἕως ἔρχομαι. 6. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, μόνος ὢν ὧδε ἐγὼ τί ποιήσω; οὐκ εἶ, φησί,

a solitary stone, without a single joint. The stone seemed to be chiseled out from the rock; for it looked like a monolith to me.

87 (IX.10)

As I walked with him I was cheerful, seeing such good things. And the shepherd said to me, "Go and bring some lime and a small pottery sherd, so that I can fill in the impressions left by the stones that were taken away and placed in the building. For the entire area around the building of the tower must be made level." 2. I did just as he ordered and brought the materials to him. "Help me," he said, "and the work will soon be finished." Then he filled up the impressions left by the stones that had gone away into the building and he ordered the area around the tower swept and made clean. 3. The virgins took brooms and swept; they took all the refuse out from the tower, and they sprinkled water around. The area of the tower became bright and very beautiful. 4. The shepherd said to me, "Everything is clean. If the lord comes to inspect the tower, he will not be able to blame us for anything." When he said these things he wanted to leave. 5. But I grabbed hold of his bag and began pleading with him by the Lord to explain what he had shown me. He said to me, "I am too busy just now; but soon I will explain everything to you. Wait for me here until I return." 6. I said to him, "Lord, what am I to do here by myself?" "You are not by yourself," he said, "for

¹⁹² περιπατῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ A L² E: μετ' αὐτοῦ C¹: om. L¹

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

μόνος· αἱ γὰρ παρθένοι αὐταὶ μετὰ σοῦ εἰσι. παράδος οὖν, φημί, αὐταῖς με. προσκαλεῖται αὐτὰς ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ λέγει αὐταῖς· παρατίθεται ὑμῖν τοῦτον ἕως ἔρχομαι· καὶ ἀπῆλθεν. 7. ἐγὼ δὲ ἤμην μόνος μετὰ τῶν παρθένων· ἦσαν δὲ ἱλαρώτεραι καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ εὖ εἶχον· μάλιστα δὲ αἱ δ' αἱ ἐνδοξότεραι αὐτῶν.

88 (IX.11)

Λέγουσί μοι αἱ παρθένοι· σήμερον ὁ ποιμὴν ὧδε οὐκ ἔρχεται. τί οὖν, φημί, ποιήσω ἐγώ; μέχρις ὅψέ, φασίν,¹⁹³ περίμεινον αὐτόν. καὶ ἂν ἔλθῃ, λαλήσει μετὰ σοῦ, ἂν δὲ μὴ ἔλθῃ, μενεῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν ὧδε ἕως ἔρχεται. 2. λέγω αὐταῖς· ἐκδέξομαι αὐτὸν ἕως ὅψέ· ἂν δὲ μὴ ἔλθῃ, ἀπελεύσομαι εἰς τὸν οἶκον καὶ πρῶτ' ἐπανήξω. αἱ δὲ ἀποκριθεῖσαι λέγουσί μοι· ἡμῖν παρεδόθης· οὐ δύνασαι ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀναχωρῆσαι. 3. ποῦ οὖν, φημί, μενῶ; μεθ' ἡμῶν, φασί, κοιμηθήσῃ ὡς ἀδελφός, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἀνὴρ. ἡμέτερος γὰρ ἀδελφὸς εἶ, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μέλλομεν μετὰ σοῦ κατοικεῖν· λίαν γάρ σε ἀγαπῶμεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡσυχνύομην μετ' αὐτῶν μένειν. 4. καὶ ἡ δοκοῦσα πρώτη αὐτῶν εἶναι ἡρξάτο με καταφιλεῖν καὶ περιπλέκεσθαι· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ὀρώσαι ἐκείνην περιπλεκομένην μοι καὶ αὐταὶ ἡρξαντό με καταφιλεῖν καὶ περιάγειν κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου καὶ παίζειν μετ' ἐμοῦ. 5. καὶ γὰρ ὡσεὶ νεώτερος ἐγεγόνειν καὶ ἡρξάμην καὶ αὐτὸς παίζειν μετ' αὐτῶν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐχόρευον, αἱ δὲ ὠρχοῦντο, αἱ δὲ ᾄδον· ἐγὼ δὲ σιγῇ

these virgins are with you.” “Then hand me over to their care,” I said. The shepherd called them and said to them, “I am putting this one in your care until I return.” Then he went away. 7. I was alone with the virgins. But they were very cheerful and treated me well, especially the four who were so glorious.

88 (IX.11)

The virgins said to me, “The shepherd is not coming back today.” “What then will I do?” I asked. “Wait for him till this evening,” they replied. “If he comes, he will speak with you; if he does not come, you will stay with us here until he does.” 2. I said to them, “I will wait for him till this evening; but if he does not come, I will go home and return early in the morning.” But they answered me, “You have been handed over to us; you cannot leave us.” 3. “But where then will I stay?” I asked. “You will sleep with us,” they replied, “but as a brother, not a husband. For you are our brother, and we will be living with you from now on because we love you so much.” But I was embarrassed to stay with them. 4. Then the one who appeared to be their leader began to kiss me and hold me in her arms. When the others saw her holding me, they also began to kiss me, leading me around the tower and playing with me. 5. It was as if I were young again, and I began also to play with them. For some of them were prancing, others dancing, and

¹⁹³ μέχρῃς ὀψέ, φασίν L L E: μέχρῃς ὅτε φασίν ἔλθῃ A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ἔχων μετ' αὐτῶν κύκλω τοῦ πύργου περιεπάτουν καὶ ἱλαρὸς ἦμην μετ' αὐτῶν. 6. ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης ἤθελον εἰς τὸν οἶκον ὑπάγειν· αἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀφῆκαν, ἀλλὰ κατέσχον με. καὶ ἔμεινα μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν νύκτα, καὶ ἐκοιμήθην¹⁹⁴ παρὰ τὸν πύργον. 7. ἔστρωσαν γὰρ αἱ παρθένοι τοὺς λινοὺς χιτῶνας ἑαυτῶν χαμαί, καὶ ἐμέ ἀνέκλιναν εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐποιοῦν εἰ μὴ προσηύχοντο· καὶ γὰρ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀδιαλείπτως προσηυχόμην καὶ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἐκείνων. καὶ ἔχαιρον αἱ παρθένοι οὕτω μου προσευχομένον. καὶ ἔμεινα ἐκεῖ μέχρι τῆς αὔριον ἕως ὥρας δευτέρας μετὰ τῶν παρθένων.¹⁹⁵ 8. εἶτα παρῆν ὁ ποιμήν, καὶ λέγει ταῖς παρθένοις· μή τινα αὐτῷ ὕβριν πεποιθήκατε; ἐρώτα, φασίν, αὐτόν. λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, εὐφράνθην μετ' αὐτῶν μείνας. τί, φησίν, ἐδείπνησας; ἐδείπνησα, φημί, κύριε, ῥήματα κυρίου ὅλην τὴν νύκτα. καλῶς, φησίν, ἔλαβόν σε; ναί, φημί, κύριε. 9. νῦν, φησί, τί θέλεις πρῶτον ἀκοῦσαι; καθὼς, φημί, κύριε, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔδειξας· ἐρωτῶ σε, κύριε, ἵνα καθὼς ἂν σε ἐπερωτήσω, οὕτω μοι καὶ δηλώσης. καθὼς βούλει, φησίν, οὕτω σοι καὶ ἐπιλύσω, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἀποκρίψω ἀπὸ σοῦ.

89 (IX.12)

Πρῶτον, φημί, πάντων, κύριε, τοῦτό μοι δήλωσον· ἡ πέτρα καὶ ἡ πύλη τίς ἐστίν; ἡ πέτρα, φησίν, αὕτη καὶ ἡ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστι. πῶς, φημί, κύριε, ἡ πέτρα παλαιά ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ πύλη καινή; ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ

others singing. But I was keeping silent, walking around the tower with them, feeling happy to be with them. 6. When evening came I wanted to go home. They did not let me, but kept me there. And I spent the night with them, sleeping beside the tower. 7. For the virgins spread their linen tunics on the ground and had me lie down in their midst; and they were doing nothing at all, except praying. I was praying with them constantly, no less than they. The virgins were glad that I was praying like this. And I stayed there with them till eight o'clock the next morning. 8. Then the shepherd arrived and said to the virgins, "Have you mistreated [*Or: dishonored*] him in any way?" "Ask him," they replied. "Lord," I said, "I was glad to stay with them." "What did you have for dinner?" he asked. "All night long, Lord," I replied, "I dined on the words of the Lord." "Did they receive you well?" he asked. "Yes, Lord," I replied. 9. "Now," he said, "what do you want to hear first?" "Just as you informed me from the beginning, Lord," I replied, "I would like you to show me whatever I ask about." "I will explain just as you wish," he said, "and hide nothing at all from you."

89 (IX.12)

"First of all, Lord," I said, "show me this: what are the rock and the gate?" "This rock and the gate," he said, "are the Son of God." "Why, Lord," I asked, "is the rock ancient but the gate new?" "Listen, you fool," he said, "and under-

¹⁹⁴ καὶ ἐκοιμήθην A: om. L L E

¹⁹⁵ παρθένων A L² E C C: add *et cum adorassemus deum* L¹

σύνιε, ἀσύνετε. 2. ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ προγενέστερός ἐστιν, ὥστε σύμβουλον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τῷ πατρὶ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παλαιὰ ἡ πέτρα.¹⁹⁶ ἡ δὲ πύλη, φημί, διατί καινῇ, κύριε; 3. ὅτι, φησὶν, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς συντελείας φανερὸς ἐγένετο, διὰ τοῦτο καινῇ ἐγένετο ἡ πύλη, ἵνα οἱ μέλλοντες σώζεσθαι¹⁹⁷ δι' αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσέλθωσι τοῦ θεοῦ. 4. εἶδες, φησὶν, τοὺς λίθους τοὺς διὰ τῆς πύλης εἰσεληλυθότας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου βεβλημένους, τοὺς δὲ μὴ εἰσεληλυθότας πάλιν ἀποβεβλημένους εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον; εἶδον, φημί, κύριε. οὕτω, φησὶν, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδεὶς εἰσελεύσεται, εἰ μὴ λάβοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.¹⁹⁸ 5. ἐὰν γὰρ εἰς πόλιν θελήσης εἰσελθεῖν τινα, κακεῖνη ἡ πόλις περιτετειχισμένη κύκλῳ καὶ μίαν ἔχη πύλην, μήτι δύνῃ εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῆς πύλης ἧς ἔχει; πῶς γάρ, φημί, κύριε, δύναται γενέσθαι ἄλλως; εἰ οὖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐ δύνῃ εἰσελθεῖν εἰ μὴ διὰ τῆς πύλης ἧς ἔχει,¹⁹⁹ οὕτω, φησί, καὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄλλως εἰσελθεῖν οὐ δύναται ἄνθρωπος εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. 6. εἶδες, φησί, τὸν ὄχλον τὸν οἰκοδομοῦντα τὸν πύργον; εἶδον, φημί, κύριε. ἐκεῖνοι, φησί, πάντες ἄγγελοι ἔνδοξοί εἰσι· τούτοις οὖν περιτετείχισται ὁ κύριος. ἡ δὲ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν· αὕτη μία εἵσοδός ἐστι πρὸς τὸν κύριον. ἄλλως οὖν οὐδεὶς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. 7. εἶδες, φησί, τοὺς ἔξ

stand. 2. The Son of God is older than all his creation, and so he became the Father's counselor for his creation. That is why the rock is ancient." "But why is the gate new, Lord?" I asked. 3. "Because," he said, "he has been revealed in the last days of its completion. This is why the gate is new, so that those who are about to be saved may enter through it into the kingdom of God. 4. Did you notice," he asked, "that the stones that entered through the gate were placed in the building of the tower, whereas the ones that did not enter were cast out again into their own place?" "Yes, I saw this, Lord," I replied. "In the same way," he said, "no one will enter the kingdom of God without taking the name of his Son. 5. For if you want to enter a walled city with a single gate, can you enter except through the gate?" "How could it be otherwise, Lord?" I said. "If then you cannot enter the city except through its gate," he said, "neither can anyone enter the kingdom of God in any way except through the name of the Son who is his beloved. 6. You saw," he asked, "the crowd of people building the tower?" "I saw them, Lord," I replied. "All those," he said, "are glorious angels. The Lord, therefore, is surrounded by them like a wall. And the gate is the Son of God; this is the one entrance to the Lord. No one can enter in to him in any other way, except through his Son. 7. You

196 διὰ . . . πέτρα P^{Am} (καὶ . . .) (A E C²) C¹: om. L L
 παλαιὰ ἡ πέτρα P^{Am} C¹: παλαιός ἐστιν A E C²

197 σώζεσθαι A L L E: ζῆν C¹

198 τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ E C¹: τοῦ υἱοῦ C²: *filii dei* L L: τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ A

199 ἧς ἔχει P^{Am} L¹: *eius* L² C¹: *illam* E: add αὐτῆς A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ἄνδρας καὶ τὸν μέσον αὐτῶν ἔνδοξον καὶ μέγαν ἄνδρα
τὸν περιπατοῦντα περὶ τὸν πύργον καὶ τοὺς λίθους
ἀποδοκιμάσαντα ἐκ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς; εἶδον, φημί, κύριε.
8. ὁ ἔνδοξος, φησὶν, ἀνὴρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστι,
κάκεῖνοι οἱ ἐξ οἱ ἔνδοξοι ἄγγελοί εἰσι δεξιὰ καὶ
εὐώνυμα συγκρατοῦντες αὐτόν. τούτων, φησί, τῶν
ἀγγέλων τῶν ἐνδόξων οὐδεὶς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς τὸν
θεὸν ἄτερ αὐτοῦ· ὃς ἂν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ²⁰⁰ μὴ λάβῃ,
οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

90 (IX.13)

Ὁ δὲ πύργος, φημί, τίς ἐστίν; ὁ πύργος, φησὶν, οὗτος
ἡ²⁰¹ ἐκκλησία ἐστίν. 2. αἱ δὲ παρθένοι αὗται τίνες
εἰσίν; αὗται, φησὶν, ἅγια πνεύματά εἰσι καὶ ἄλλως
ἄνθρωπος οὐ δύναται εὐρεθῆναι²⁰² εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν
τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐὰν μὴ αὗται αὐτὸν ἐνδύσωσι τὸ ἔνδυμα
αὐτῶν· ἐὰν γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα μόνον λάβῃς, τὸ δὲ ἔνδυμα
παρὰ τούτων μὴ λάβῃς, οὐδὲν ὠφελήσῃ· αὗται γὰρ αἱ
παρθένοι δυνάμεις εἰσὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐὰν τὸ
ὄνομα φορῇς, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν μὴ φορῇς αὐτοῦ, εἰς
μάτην ἔσῃ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ φορῶν. 3. τοὺς δὲ λίθους,
φησὶν, οὓς εἶδες ἀποβεβλημένους, οὗτοι τὸ μὲν ὄνομα
ἐφόρεσαν, τὸν δὲ ἱματισμὸν τῶν παρθένων οὐκ ἐν-
εδύσαντο. ποῖος, φημί, ἱματισμὸς αὐτῶν ἐστι, κύριε;
αὐτὰ τὰ ὀνόματα, φησὶν, ἱματισμὸς ἐστίν αὐτῶν. ὃς
ἂν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ φορῇ, καὶ τούτων
ὀφείλει τὰ ὀνόματα φορεῖν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς τὰ

saw," he asked, "the six men and the glorious and great man in their midst, who walked around the tower and rejected the stones from the building?" "I saw these things, Lord," I replied. 8. "The glorious man," he said, "is the Son of God, and those six are the glorious angels who support him on the right hand and the left. None of these glorious angels," he said, "will enter into the presence of God without him. Whoever does not receive his name will not enter the kingdom of God."

90 (IX.13)

"But what is the tower?" I asked. "This tower," he replied, "is the church." 2. "And who are these virgins?" "These," he said, "are holy spirits. No one can be found in the kingdom of God if these do not clothe him in their clothing. It will be of no use for you to receive the name alone without receiving the clothing from them. For these virgins are the powers of the Son of God. If you bear the name but not his power, it will be in vain. 3. The stones you saw cast out," he said, "these bore the name but were not clothed in the virgins' garments." "What are their garments like, Lord?" I asked. "The names they have are their garments," he replied. "Whoever bears the name of the Son of God ought also to bear their names. For even the Son himself bears

200 *αὐτοῦ* L L E: *τοῦ θεοῦ* A

201 *ἡ* L L E: om. A

202 *εὐρεθῆναι* A L²: *venire* L¹: *intrare* E

ὀνόματα τῶν παρθένων τούτων φορεῖ. 4. ὅσους, φησί, λίθους εἶδες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου εἰσεληλυθότας, ἐπιδεδομένους διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ μείναντας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν,²⁰³ τούτων τῶν παρθένων τὴν δύναμιν ἐνδεδυμένοι εἰσὶ. 5. διὰ τοῦτο βλέπεις τὸν πύργον μονόλιθον γεγονότα μετὰ²⁰⁴ τῆς πέτρας· οὕτω καὶ οἱ πιστεύσαντες τῷ κυρίῳ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνδιδυσκόμενοι τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα, ἔσονται εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα, ἓν σῶμα, καὶ μία χροὰ τῶν ἱματίων αὐτῶν. τῶν τοιούτων δὲ τῶν φορούντων τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν παρθένων ἐστὶν ἡ κατοικία εἰς τὸν πύργον. 6. οἱ οὖν, φημί, κύριε, ἀποβεβλημένοι λίθοι διατί ἀπεβλήθησαν; διήλθον γὰρ διὰ τῆς πύλης, καὶ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν παρθένων ἐτέθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. ἐπειδὴ πάντα σοι, φησί, μέλει, καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζεις, ἄκουε περὶ τῶν ἀποβεβλημένων λίθων. 7. οὗτοι, φησί, πάντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλαβον, ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν παρθένων τούτων. λαβόντες οὖν τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα ἐνεδυναμώθησαν καὶ ἦσαν μετὰ τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν ἓν πνεῦμα καὶ ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν ἔνδυμα· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ ἐφρόνουν καὶ δικαιοσύνην εἰργάζοντο. 8. μετὰ οὖν χρόνον τινὰ ἀνεπίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ὧν εἶδες μέλανα ἱμάτια ἐνδεδυμένων, τοὺς ὧμους ἔξω ἔχουσῶν καὶ τὰς τρίχας λελυμένας καὶ εὐμόρφων. ταύτας ἰδόντες ἐπεθύμησαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐνεδύσαντο τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, τῶν δὲ παρθένων ἀπεδύσαντο τὸ ἔνδυμα καὶ²⁰⁵ τὴν δύναμιν.²⁰⁶ 9. οὗτοι οὖν ἀπεβλήθησαν

the names of the virgins. 4. All the stones you saw entering into the building of the tower, which were given over through their hands and remained in the building," he said, "are clothed with the power of these virgins. 5. This is why you see the tower formed as a monolith with the rock. So too those who believe in the Lord through his Son and are clothed with these spirits will be one spirit and one body, and their garments will be one color. And those who bear the names of the virgins will dwell in the tower." 6. "And so, Lord," I asked, "why were the rejected stones cast out? For they too went through the tower and were placed in the building of the tower through the hands of the virgins." "Since you are concerned about everything," he said, "and make such careful inquiry, hear about the stones that were cast out. 7. All of these," he said, "received the name of the Son of God and the power of these virgins. And so, they were empowered by receiving these spirits and they accompanied the slaves of God, sharing one spirit, one body, and one clothing. For they were harmonious with one another and did what was righteous. 8. And then, after some time, they were seduced by the women you saw wearing black garments, with uncovered shoulders, loose hair, and beautiful figures. When these men saw them they desired them and clothed themselves in their power, taking off the clothing and power of the virgins. 9. And so they were cast out from the house of God

203 τοῦ . . . οἰκοδομῆν E L² (L¹): om. A

204 μετὰ L L E: om. A

205 τὸ ἐνδυμα καὶ (L¹) E: om. A L²

206 καὶ τὴν δύναμιν A L² E: om. L¹

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκείναις παρεδόθησαν· οἱ δὲ μὴ ἀπατηθέντες τῷ κάλλει τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων ἔμειναν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔχεις, φησί, τὴν ἐπίλυσιν τῶν ἀποβεβλημένων.

91 (IX.14)

Τί οὖν, φημί, κύριε, ἐὰν οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τοιοῦτοι ὄντες, μετανοήσωσι καὶ ἀποβάλωσι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων, καὶ ἐπανακάμψωσιν ἐπὶ τὰς παρθένους καὶ ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν πορευθῶσιν, οὐκ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ; 2. εἰσελεύσονται, φησίν, ἐὰν τούτων τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποβάλωσι τὰ ἔργα, τῶν δὲ παρθένων ἀναλάβωσι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν πορευθῶσι. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἀνοχὴ ἐγένετο, ἵνα, ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν οὗτοι, ἀπέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσι, τότε ἄλλοι εἰσελεύσονται, καὶ οὗτοι εἰς τέλος ἐκβληθήσονται. 3. ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν ηὐχαρίστησα τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξάπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς μετανοίας εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἁμαρτήσαντας εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνεκαίνισεν ἡμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἤδη κατεφθαρμένων ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ ἐχόντων ἐλπίδα τοῦ ζῆν ἀνενέωσε τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν. 4. νῦν, φημί, κύριε, δήλωσόν μοι, διατί ὁ πύργος χαμαὶ οὐκ ᾠκοδόμηται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην. ἔτι, φησίν, ἄφρων εἶ καὶ ἀσύνε-

and handed over to those women. But the ones who were not led astray by the beauty of these women remained in the house of God. Now you have the interpretation of those who were cast out," he said.

91 (IX.14)

"What then, Lord," I asked, "if these people, even if they are like this, repent and cast away their desires for these women and return to the virgins and proceed in their power and their works—will they not enter the house of God?" 2. "They will enter," he said, "if they cast off the works of these women and take up the power of the virgins and proceed in their works. This is why the building has been delayed, so that if they repent, they may enter the building of the tower. But if they do not repent, then others will enter and they will be cast out once and for all." 3. I gave thanks to the Lord for all these things, since he showed compassion to everyone who called on his name, sending the angel of repentance to those of us who sinned against him, renewing our spirits. And he restored our lives even when we were already corrupt and had no hope of living. 4. "Now, Lord," I said, "show me why the tower is not built on the ground but on the rock and the gate." "Are you still foolish and ignorant?" he said. "I have to ask you

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

τος,²⁰⁷ ἀνάγκην ἔχω, φημί, κύριε, πάντα ἐπερωτᾶν σε, ὅτι οὐδ' ὅλως οὐδὲν δύναμαι νοῆσαι· τὰ γὰρ πάντα μεγάλα καὶ ἔνδοξά ἐστι καὶ δυσνόητα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. 5. ἄκουε, φησί· τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ μέγα ἐστὶ καὶ ἀχώρητον, καὶ τὸν κόσμον ὅλον βαστάζει. εἰ οὖν πάντα ἡ κτίσις²⁰⁸ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ βαστάζεται, τί δοκεῖς τοὺς κεκλημένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα φοροῦντας τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πορευομένους ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ; 6. βλέπεις οὖν ποίους βαστάζει; τοὺς ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας φοροῦντας τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. αὐτὸς οὖν θεμέλιος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἡδέως αὐτοὺς βαστάζει, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπαισχύνονται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ φορεῖν.

92 (IX.15)

Δήλωσόν μοι, φημί, κύριε, τῶν παρθένων τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν²⁰⁹ τῶν τὰ μέλανα ἱμάτια ἐνδεδυμένων. ἄκουε, φησί, τῶν παρθένων τὰ ὀνόματα²¹⁰ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων, τῶν εἰς τὰς γωνίας σταθισῶν. 2. ἡ μὲν πρώτη Πίστις, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα Ἐγκράτεια, ἡ δὲ τρίτη Δύναμις, ἡ δὲ τετάρτη Μακροθυμία· αἱ δὲ ἕτεραι ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων σταθεῖσαι ταῦτα ἔχουσι τὰ ὀνόματα· Ἀπλότης, Ἀκακία, Ἀγνεΐα, Ἰλαρότης, Ἀλήθεια, Σύνεσις, Ὁμόνοια, Ἀγάπη. ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ὁ φορῶν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ δυνήσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. 3. ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν τὰ ἱμάτια μέλανα ἔχου-

everything, Lord," I said, "because I can grasp nothing at all. For all these are great and glorious matters, and hard for anyone to grasp." 5. "Listen," he said. "The name of the Son of God is great and boundless, and it supports the entire world. If then all creation is supported by the Son of God, what do you think of those who are called by him, bearing the name of the Son of God and proceeding in his commandments? 6. You see what sort of people he supports? They are who bear his name with their whole heart. And so, he has become their foundation, and he supports them gladly because they are not ashamed to bear his name."

92 (IX.15)

"Show me, Lord," I said, "the names of the virgins and of these women wearing black garments." "Listen," he said. "These are the names of the stronger virgins, the ones who stood at the corners. 2. The first is Faith, the second Self-Restraint, the third Power, and the fourth Patience. And the others who stood between them are named Simplicity, Innocence, Holiness, Cheerfulness, Truth, Understanding, Harmony, and Love. The one who bears these names and the name of the Son of God will be able to enter the kingdom of God. 3. Listen also," he said, "to the names of the women with the black garments. Four of these also are

207 ἀσύνετος A L² E: add *ideo interrogas* L¹

208 κτίσις A: add *dei* L L (E)

209 γυναικῶν: add *illarum* L L: add *harum* E

210 καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν . . . ὀνόματα (L L E): om. A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

σῶν. καὶ ἐκ τούτων τέσσαρές εἰσι δυνατώτεραι· ἡ πρώτη Ἀπιστία, ἡ δευτέρα Ἀκρασία, ἡ δὲ τρίτη Ἀπείθεια, ἡ δὲ τετάρτη Ἀπάτη. αἱ δὲ ἀκόλουθοι αὐτῶν καλοῦνται Λύπη, Πονηρία, Ἀσέλγεια, Ὁξύχολία, Ψεῦδος, Ἀφροσύνη, Καταλαλιά, Μῖσος. ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα²¹¹ ὁ φορῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλος τὴν βασιλείαν μὲν ὄψεται τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς αὐτὴν δὲ οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται. 4. οἱ λίθοι δέ, φημί, κύριε, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἡρμοσμένοι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τίνες εἰσίν; οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι, φησίν, οἱ ἴοι εἰς τὰ θεμέλια τεθειμένοι, πρώτη γενεά· οἱ δὲ κ' δευτέρα γενεὰ ἀνδρῶν δικαίων· οἱ δὲ λ' προφῆται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διάκονοι αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ μ' ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. 5. διατί οὖν, φημί, κύριε, αἱ παρθένοι καὶ τούτους τοὺς λίθους ἐπέδωκαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου, διενέγκασαι διὰ τῆς πύλης; 6. οὗτοι γάρ, φησί, πρῶτοι ταῦτα τὰ πνεύματα ἐφόρεσαν, καὶ ὅλως ἀπ' ἀλλήλων οὐκ ἀπέστησαν, οὔτε τὰ πνεύματα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὔτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων, ἀλλὰ παρέμειναν τὰ πνεύματα αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῆς κοιμήσεως αὐτῶν. καὶ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα τὰ πνεύματα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐσχέκισαν, οὐκ ἂν εὐχρηστοὶ γεγόνεισαν τῇ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ πύργου τούτου.

93 (IX.16)

Ἐπι μοι, φημί, κύριε, δήλωσον. τί, φησίν, ἐπιζητεῖς; διατί, φημί, κύριε, οἱ λίθοι ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἀνέβησαν καὶ

more powerful than the rest: the first is Disbelief, the second Lack of Self-Control, the third Disobedience, and the fourth Deceit. And the ones that come after them are called Sorrow, Wickedness, Licentiousness, Short Temper, Lying, Foolishness, Slander, and Hatred. The slave of God who bears these names will see the kingdom of God but will not enter it.” 4. “But what, Lord, are the stones from the depths that were fit in the building?” I asked. “The first ten stones, which were placed as the foundation,” he said, “are the first generation; but the twenty-five are the second generation of upright men; the thirty-five are the prophets and ministers of God; and the forty are the apostles and teachers who proclaim the Son of God.” 5. “And so why, Lord,” I asked, “have the virgins handed over these stones for the building of the tower after carrying them through the gate?” 6. “It is because these first ones,” he replied, “bore these spirits; and at no time did they leave one another—neither the spirits the people nor the people the spirits, but the spirits remained with them until they died. And if they had not had these spirits with them, they would have been of no use for the building of this tower.”

93 (IX.16)

“Show me something else, Lord,” I said. “What do you want to know?” he replied. “Why, Lord,” I asked, “did the stones arise from the depths and come to be placed in the

²¹¹ ὀνόματα A E: πνεύματα L L

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἐτέθησαν, πεφορηκότες τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα; 2. ἀνάγκην, φησίν, εἶχον δι' ὕδατος ἀναβῆναι, ἵνα ζωοποιηθῶσιν· οὐκ ἠδύναντο γὰρ ἄλλως εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ μὴ τὴν νέκρωσιν ἀπέθεντο τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν τῆς προτέρας. 3. ἔλαβον οὖν καὶ οὗτοι οἱ κεκοιμημένοι τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.²¹² πρὶν γάρ, φησί, φορέσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸ ὄνομα²¹³ τοῦ θεοῦ, νεκρός ἐστιν· ὅταν δὲ λάβῃ τὴν σφραγίδα, ἀποτίθεται τὴν νέκρωσιν καὶ ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν ζωὴν. 4. ἡ σφραγὶς οὖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστίν· εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ οὖν καταβαίνουσι νεκροὶ καὶ ἀναβαίνουσι ζῶντες. κακείοις οὖν ἐκηρύχθη ἡ σφραγὶς αὕτη καὶ ἐχρήσαντο αὐτῇ, ἵνα εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. 5. διατί, φημί, κύριε, καὶ οἱ μ' λίθοι μετ' αὐτῶν ἀνέβησαν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ, ἥδη ἐσχηκότες τὴν σφραγίδα; ὅτι, φησίν, οὗτοι οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι οἱ κηρύξαντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, κοιμηθέντες ἐν δυνάμει καὶ πίστει τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκήρυξαν καὶ τοῖς προκεκοιμημένοις²¹⁴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ κηρύγματος. 6. κατέβησαν οὖν μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πάλιν ἀνέβησαν· ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ζῶντες κατέβησαν καὶ ζῶντες ἀνέβησαν· ἐκείνοι δὲ οἱ προκεκοιμημένοι νεκροὶ κατέβησαν, ζῶντες δὲ ἀνέβησαν. 7. διὰ τούτων οὖν ἐζωοποιήθησαν καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνανέβησαν μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ συνηρμόσθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου, καὶ

building, when they had borne these spirits?" 2. "They had to rise up from the water," he replied, "in order to be made alive. For they could enter the kingdom of God in no other way, except by laying aside the death of their former life. 3. And so these who had died received the seal of the Son of God and entered into the kingdom of God. For before a person bears the name of God," he said, "he is dead. But when he receives the seal, he lays aside death and takes up life. 4. And so the seal is the water. They go down into the water dead, therefore, and rise up living. Thus this seal was proclaimed also to those people, and they made use of it, that they might enter the kingdom of God." 5. "Why, Lord," I said, "did the forty stones also come up with them from the depths, already having the seal?" "Because," he replied, "when these apostles and teachers who proclaimed the name of the Son of God died in the power and faith of the Son of God, they delivered their proclamation even to those who had died previously and gave them the seal of the proclamation. 6. So they went down with them into the water and again rose up from it. And these went down living and rose up living. But those who died before went down dead, and rose up living. 7. Through these people, therefore, they were made alive and came to know the name of the Son of God. For this reason also they rose up with them and were fit together with them into the building of the tower; and without being hewed they were

²¹² καὶ . . . θεοῦ L L E: om. A

²¹³ ὄνομα A: add τοῦ υἱοῦ L L E

²¹⁴ προκεκοιμημένοις L¹ E: κεκοιμημένοις A L²

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ἀλατόμητοι συνωκοδομήθησαν· ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ γὰρ ἐκοιμήθησαν καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ ἀγνείᾳ· μόνον δὲ τὴν σφραγίδα ταύτην οὐκ εἶχον. ἔχεις οὖν καὶ τὴν τούτων ἐπίλυσιν. ἔχω, φημί, κύριε.

94 (IX.17)

Νῦν οὖν, κύριε, περὶ τῶν ὁρέων μοι δήλωσον· διατί ἄλλαι καὶ ἄλλαι εἰσὶν αἱ ἰδέαι καὶ ποικίλαι; ἄκουε, φησί. τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα²¹⁵ δώδεκά εἰσι φυλαὶ αἱ κατοικοῦσαι ὅλον τὸν κόσμον. ἐκηρύχθη οὖν εἰς ταύτας ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων. 2. διατί δὲ ποικίλα καὶ ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἰδέα ἐστὶ τὰ ὄρη, δήλωσόν μοι, κύριε. ἄκουε, φησὶν. αἱ δώδεκα φυλαὶ αὗται αἱ κατοικοῦσαι ὅλον τὸν κόσμον δώδεκα ἔθνη εἰσὶ· ποικίλα δὲ εἰσι τῇ φρονήσει καὶ τῷ νοῦ· οἷα οὖν εἶδες τὰ ὄρη ποικίλα, τοιαῦταί εἰσι καὶ τούτων αἱ ποικιλίαι τοῦ νοὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἡ φρόνησις. δηλώσω δέ σοι καὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τὴν πρᾶξιν. 3. πρῶτον, φημί, κύριε, τοῦτο δήλωσον, διατί οὕτω ποικίλα ὄντα τὰ ὄρη, εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ὅταν ἐτέθησαν οἱ λίθοι αὐτῶν, μιᾷ χροᾷ ἐγένοντο λαμπροί, ὥς καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἀναβεβηκότες λίθοι; 4. ὅτι, φησί, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν κατοικοῦντα, ἀκούσαντα καὶ πιστεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι ἐκλήθησαν τοῦ υἱοῦ²¹⁶ τοῦ θεοῦ. λαβόντες οὖν τὴν σφραγίδα μίαν φρόνησιν ἔσχον καὶ

put into the building together. For they died in righteousness and great purity—only they did not have this seal. And so now you have the interpretation of these things.” “Yes I have, Lord,” I replied.

94 (IX.17)

“Now then, Lord, explain to me about the mountains. Why do they appear to be distinct from one another and different?” “Listen,” he said: “these twelve mountains are tribes that inhabit the entire earth. And so the Son of God was proclaimed to them through the apostles.” 2. “But show me, Lord, why the mountains are different and distinct in appearance.” “Listen,” he said. “These twelve tribes that inhabit the entire earth are twelve nations. And they differ in what they both think and understand. Just as you saw there were different mountains, so also there are differences in understanding and thought among these nations. But I will show you the workings of each one.” 3. “First, Lord,” I said, “show me something else. Why is it that even though the mountains are different, the stones taken from them became bright with one color when placed in the building, like the stones that came up out of the depths?” 4. “This,” he replied, “is because all the nations that dwell under the sky were called by the name of the Son of God after they heard and believed in the name of the Son of God. And so, when they received the seal they had one

215 ταῦτα PAm: add τὰ δώδεκα A L L: add *quos vides* L L (E)

216 τοῦ υἱοῦ L L E: om. A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ἓνα νοῦν, καὶ μία πίστις αὐτῶν ἐγένετο καὶ μία ἀγάπη, καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τῶν παρθένων μετὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐφόρεσαν· διὰ τοῦτο ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ πύργου μιᾷ χρόᾳ ἐγένετο λαμπρὰ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος. 5. μετὰ δὲ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ γενέσθαι ἐν σῶμα, τινὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐμίαναν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐξεβλήθησαν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων, καὶ πάλιν ἐγένοντο, οἷοι πρότεροι ἦσαν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ χεῖρονες.

95 (IX.18)

Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, ἐγένοντο χεῖρονες, θεὸν²¹⁷ ἐπεγνωκότες; ὁ μὴ γινώσκων, φησί, θεὸν καὶ πονηρευόμενος ἔχει κόλασίν τινα τῆς πονηρίας αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ θεὸν ἐπιγνοὺς οὐκέτι ὀφείλει πονηρεῦσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοποιεῖν. 2. εἰς οὖν ὁ ὀφείλων ἀγαθοποιεῖν πονηρεῖται, οὐ δοκεῖ πλείονα πονηρίαν ποιεῖν παρὰ τὸν μὴ γινώσκοντα τὸν θεόν; διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὴ ἐγνωκότες θεὸν καὶ πονηρευόμενοι κεκριμένοι εἰσὶν εἰς θάνατον, οἱ δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐγνωκότες καὶ τὰ μεγαλεῖα αὐτοῦ ἑωρακότες καὶ πονηρευόμενοι δισσωσὶς κολασθήσονται καὶ ἀποθανοῦνται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. οὕτως οὖν καθαρισθήσεται ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ,²¹⁸ 3. ὡς εἶδες ἐκ τοῦ πύργου τοὺς λίθους ἡρμένους²¹⁹ καὶ παραδεδομένους τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῖς πονηροῖς καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐκβληθέντας· καὶ ἔσται ἐν σῶμα τῶν κεκαθαρμένων. ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ πύργος ἐγένετο ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς λίθου γεγονὼς μετὰ τὸ καθαρισθῆναι αὐτόν, οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ

thought and one understanding, and their faith became one, as did their love; and they bore the spirits of the virgins along with the name. For this reason the building of the tower became bright as the sun, with one color. 5. But after they entered into unity with one another and became one body together, some of them defiled themselves and were cast out from the race of the upright, and they again became as they were formerly, only somewhat worse."

95 (IX.18)

"How, Lord," I asked, "did they become worse after coming to know God?" "The one who does evil without knowing God," he said, "receives a certain punishment for his evil; but the one who has come to know God should no longer do evil but good. 2. And so, if the one who should do good does evil, does he not appear to have done a greater evil than the one who does not know God? This is why those who have not known God and done evil are condemned to death, but those who have known God and seen his great works yet still have done evil will be punished twice over, and will die forever. Thus the church of God will be cleansed. 3. You yourself have seen how the stones were taken from the tower and handed over to the evil spirits and cast out from there. So too there will be one body of those who have been cleansed. For just as the tower appeared to have been made from a single stone after it was cleansed, so also will the church of God be after it

²¹⁷ θεὸν L²: *dominum* L¹: χριστόν A

²¹⁸ τοῦ θεοῦ L L E: om. A

²¹⁹ ἡρμένους A L²: *eiectos* L¹ E

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

μετὰ τὸ καθαρισθῆναι αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποβληθῆναι τοὺς
 πονηροὺς καὶ ὑποκριτὰς καὶ βλασφήμους καὶ διψύ-
 χους καὶ πονηρευομένους ποικίλαις πονηρίαις. 4. μετὰ
 τὸ τούτους ἀποβληθῆναι ἔσται ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ
 ἐν σῶμα, μία φρόνησις, εἷς νοῦς, μία πίστις, μία
 ἀγάπη· καὶ τότε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαλλιάζεται καὶ
 εὐφρανθήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπειληφῶς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ
 καθαρὸν. μεγάλως, φημί, κύριε, καὶ ἐνδόξως πάντα
 ἔχει. 5. ἔτι, φημί, κύριε, τῶν ὁρέων ἐνὸς ἐκάστου
 δήλωσόν μοι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὰς πράξεις, ἵνα πᾶσα
 ψυχὴ πεποιθυῖα ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον ἀκούσασα δοξάσῃ τὸ
 μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ ἑνδοξον ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. ἄκουε,
 φησί, τῶν ὁρέων τὴν ποικιλίαν καὶ τῶν δώδεκα ἔθνων.

96 (IX.19)

Ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου ὅρους τοῦ μέλανος οἱ πιστεύσαντες
 τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν· ἀποστάται καὶ βλάσφημοι εἰς τὸν
 κύριον καὶ προδότης τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ. τούτοις δὲ
 μετάνοια οὐκ ἔστι, θάνατος δὲ ἔστι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
 μέλανές εἰσι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἄνομόν ἐστιν.
 2. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου ὅρους τοῦ ψιλοῦ²²⁰ οἱ πιστεύ-
 σαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν· ὑποκριταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι πο-
 νηρίας. καὶ οὗτοι οὖν τοῖς προτέροις ὅμοιοί εἰσι, μὴ
 ἔχοντες καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης· ὥς γὰρ τὸ ὅρος αὐτῶν²²¹
 ἄκαρπον, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὄνομα μὲν
 ἔχουσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πίστεως κενοί εἰσι καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐν
 αὐτοῖς καρπὸς ἀληθείας. τούτοις οὖν μετάνοια κείται,

is cleansed, when the evildoers, hypocrites, and blasphemers are removed, along with the doubleminded and those who do different kinds of evil. 4. When these are removed, the church of God will be one body, with one thought, one understanding, one faith, one love. And then the Son of God will exult and be glad in them, when he has received his people clean." "All these things are great and glorious, Lord," I said. 5. "And now, Lord, show me the power and workings of each of the mountains, that when every soul that trusts in the Lord has heard, it may glorify his great, marvelous, and glorious name." "Listen," he said, "to the differences among the mountains and the twelve nations.

96 (IX.19)

"As to the believers from the first mountain, which was black: they are apostates and blasphemers against the Lord and betrayers of the slaves of God. There is no repentance for these, but death; this is why these stones are black. For also their kind is outside the law. 2. As to the believers from the second mountain, which was barren: they are hypocrites and teachers of evil. And so these are like the first, because they have no fruit of righteousness. For just as their mountain bears no fruit, so too such people have the name but are devoid of faith and bear no fruit of truth among themselves. And so repentance is available to them,

²²⁰ ψιλοῦ L¹ Mpers: ὑψηλοῦ A E: *arido* (= ξηροῦ) L²

²²¹ αὐτῶν A E Mpers: add *sterilis est ac* L¹ (L²)

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ἐὰν ταχὺ μετανοήσωσιν· ἐὰν δὲ βραδύνωσι, μετὰ τῶν προτέρων ἔσται ὁ θάνατος αὐτῶν. 3. διατί, φημί, κύριε, τούτοις μετάνοιά ἐστι, τοῖς δὲ πρώτοις οὐκ ἔστι; παρά τι γὰρ αἱ αὐταὶ αἱ πράξεις αὐτῶν εἰσι. διὰ τοῦτο, φησί, τούτοις μετάνοια κείται, ὅτι οὐκ ἐβλασφήμησαν τὸν κύριον αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἐγένοντο προδόται τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ· διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ λήμματος ὑπεκρίθησαν καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἕκαστος τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων. ἀλλὰ τίσουσιν δίκην τινά· κείται δὲ αὐτοῖς μετάνοια διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι αὐτοὺς βλασφήμους μηδὲ προδότας.

97 (IX.20)

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὅρου τοῦ τρίτου τοῦ ἔχοντος ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν.²²² ἔξ αὐτῶν²²³ οἱ μὲν πλούσιοι, οἱ δὲ πραγματεῖαις πολλαῖς ἐμπεφυρμένοι. οἱ μὲν τρίβολοί εἰσιν οἱ πλούσιοι, αἱ δὲ ἄκανθαι οἱ ἐν ταῖς πραγματεῖαις ταῖς ποικίλαις ἐμπεφυρμένοι. 2. οὗτοι οὖν, οἱ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ ποικίλαις πραγματεῖαις ἐμπεφυρμένοι, οὐ²²⁴ κολλῶνται τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλανῶνται πνιγόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν πράξεων αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι δυσκόλως κολλῶνται τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ, φοβούμενοι μή τι αἰτισθῶσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν· οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὖν δυσκόλως εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τριβάλοις γυμνοῖς ποσὶ περιπατεῖν δύσκολόν ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις δύσκολόν ἐστιν εἰς τὴν

if they repent quickly; but if they delay, their death will be with the first group." 3. "Why, Lord," I asked, "is repentance available to these people but not to the first? For their deeds seem to be about the same." "Repentance is available to them," he said, "because they did not blaspheme their Lord nor become betrayers of the slaves of God. But they acted hypocritically because they longed for material goods; and each of them has taught others the passions of sinners. They will pay a penalty. Still, repentance is available to them because they did not become blasphemers or betrayers.

97 (IX.20)

"As to the believers from the third mountain, which has thorns and thistles: some of them are wealthy and others are wrapped up in many business affairs. The thistles are the wealthy and the thorns are those wrapped up in various business affairs. 2. And so, these who are wrapped up in many and various business affairs do not cling to the slaves of God, but go astray, strangled by their activities. And the wealthy cling to the slaves of God only with difficulty, out of fear that these may beg something from them. Such people will enter the kingdom of God only with difficulty. 3. For just as it is difficult to walk among thistles with bare feet, so also is it difficult for such people to enter the

222 εἰσιν L L E Mpers: add τινές A

223 ἐξ αὐτῶν A E Mpers: om. L L

224 οὖν . . . οὐ L L (E): om. A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. 4. ἀλλὰ τούτοις πᾶσι μετάνοιά ἐστι, ταχυνή δέ, ἵν' ὁ τοῖς προτέροις χρόνοις οὐκ εἰργάσαντο, νῦν ἀναδράμωσιν ταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ἀγαθόν τι ποιήσωσιν. ἐὰν οὖν μετανοήσωσι καὶ ἀγαθόν τι ποιήσωσι,²²⁵ ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ.²²⁶ ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμείνωσι ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, παραδοθήσονται ταῖς γυναιξίν²²⁷ ἐκείναις, αἵτινες αὐτοὺς θανατώσουσιν.

98 (IX.21)

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου ὅρους τοῦ ἔχοντος βοτάνας πολλάς, τὰ μὲν ἐπάνω τῶν βοτανῶν χλωρά, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ρίζαις ξηρά, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ξηραίνονται, οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοὶ εἰσιν· οἱ μὲν δίψυχοι, οἱ δὲ τὸν κύριον ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖλη, ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν δὲ μὴ ἔχοντες. 2. διὰ τοῦτο τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῶν ξηρά ἐστι καὶ δύναμιν μὴ ἔχοντα, καὶ τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν μόνα ζῶσι, τὰ δὲ ἔργα αὐτῶν νεκρά ἐστίν. οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὔτε ζῶσιν οὔτε²²⁸ τεθνήκασιν. ὅμοιοι οὖν εἰσι τοῖς διψύχοις· καὶ γὰρ οἱ δίψυχοι οὔτε χλωροί εἰσιν οὔτε ξηροί· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶσιν οὔτε τεθνήκασιν. 3. ὥσπερ γὰρ αὗται αἱ βοτάναι ἡλίον ἰδοῦσαι ἐξηράνθησαν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ δίψυχοι, ὅταν θλίψιν ἀκούσωσι, διὰ τὴν δειλίαν αὐτῶν εἰδωλολατροῦσι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπαισχύνονται τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῶν. 4. οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὖν οὔτε ζῶσιν²²⁹ οὔτε τεθνήκασιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷτοι ἐὰν

kingdom of God. 4. There is repentance for all such people; but they must do it quickly and so make amends in the present for what they neglected to do before, and thus do some good. If they repent and do something good, they will live to God; but if they remain in their activities, they will be handed over to those women, who will put them to death.

98 (IX.21)

“As to the believers from the fourth mountain, which has many plants that are green near the top but withered near the roots, some of which are withered by the sun: they include the doubleminded and those who have the Lord on their lips, but not in their hearts. 2. This is why their foundations are withered and powerless, and why their words alone are living, but their deeds are dead. Such plants do not live, but neither have they died. They are therefore like the doubleminded. For the doubleminded are also neither green nor withered, for they do not live nor have they died. 3. For just as these plants were withered when they saw the sun, so also with the doubleminded: when they hear of affliction, they commit idolatry out of cowardice and are ashamed of the name of their Lord. 4. Such people therefore neither live nor have died. But

225 ἐὰν . . . ποιήσωσι L L E: καὶ A

226 τῷ θεῷ A L² E: om. L¹

227 γυναιξὶν L L E: πράξεσιν A

228 οὔτε ζῶσιν οὔτε L L E: om. A

229 οὔτε ζῶσιν L L E: om. A

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ταχὺ μετανοήσωσιν, δυνήσονται ζῆσαι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσιν, ἤδη παραδεδομένοι εἰσὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἀποφερομέναις τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν.

99 (IX.22)

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὅρους τοῦ πέμπτου τοῦ ἔχοντος βοτάνας χλωρὰς καὶ τραχέος ὄντος οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσι· πιστοὶ μὲν, δυσμαθεῖς δὲ καὶ αὐθάδεις καὶ ἐαυτοῖς ἀρέσκοντες, θέλοντες πάντα γινώσκειν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως γινώσκουσι. 2. διὰ τὴν αὐθάδειαν αὐτῶν ταύτην ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡ σύνεσις, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀφροσύνη μωρά. ἐπαινοῦσι δὲ ἐαυτοὺς ὡς σύνεσιν ἔχοντας καὶ θέλουσιν ἐθελοδιδάσκαλοι εἶναι, ἄφρονες ὄντες. 3. διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν ὑψηλοφροσύνην πολλοὶ ἐκενώθησαν ὑψοῦντες ἐαυτούς· μέγα γὰρ δαίμόνιον ἐστὶν ἡ αὐθάδεια καὶ ἡ κενὴ πεποίθησις· ἐκ τούτων οὖν πολλοὶ ἀπεβλήθησαν, τινὲς δὲ μετενόησαν καὶ ἐπίστευσαν καὶ ὑπέταξαν ἐαυτοὺς τοῖς ἔχουσι σύνεσιν, γνόντες τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀφροσύνην. 4. καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις κείται μετάνοια· οὐκ ἐγένοντο γὰρ πονηροί, μᾶλλον δὲ μωροὶ καὶ ἀσύνητοι. οὗτοι οὖν ἐὰν μετανοήσωσι, ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσι, κατοικήσουσι μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν πονηρευομένων εἰς αὐτούς.

even these, if they repent quickly, will be able to live. But if they do not repent, they are already handed over to the women who take away their lives.

99 (IX.22)

“As to the believers from the fifth mountain, which has green plants but is rugged: they are faithful, but they are slow to learn and insolent and strive to please themselves, wishing to know everything but knowing nothing at all. 2. Understanding is removed from them because of their insolence, and foolish ignorance enters into them. And they praise themselves for having understanding and they long to volunteer as teachers, even though they are ignorant. 3. And so, because of their arrogance, many have become empty, even though they exalt themselves. For insolence and empty confidence are a great demon; many of these are therefore cast out, but some have repented and believed and subjected themselves to those who have understanding, recognizing their own ignorance. 4. And repentance is available to the rest of them; for they have not become evil, merely foolish and misunderstanding. And so, if these repent they will live to God; but if they do not repent, they will dwell with the women who will treat them evilly.

Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὅρους τοῦ ἕκτου τοῦ ἔχοντος σχισμὰς μεγάλας καὶ μικρὰς καὶ ἐν ταῖς σχισμαῖς βοτάνας μεμαραμμένας πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν. 2. οἱ μὲν τὰς σχισμὰς τὰς μικρὰς ἔχοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καταλαλιῶν ἑαυτῶν μεμαραμμένοι εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ πίστει· ἀλλὰ μετενόησαν ἐκ τούτων πολλοί. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ μετανοήσουσιν, ὅταν ἀκούσωσί μου τὰς ἐντολάς· μικραὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰσιν αἱ καταλαλιαί, καὶ ταχὺ μετανοήσουσιν. 3. οἱ δὲ μεγάλας ἔχοντες σχισμὰς, οὗτοι παράμονοί εἰσι ταῖς καταλαλιαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ μνησικάκοι γίνονται μηνιῶντες ἀλλήλοις· οὗτοι οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου ἀπερρίφησαν καὶ ἀπεδοκιμάσθησαν τῆς οἰκοδομῆς αὐτοῦ. οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὖν δυσκόλως ζήσονται. 4. εἰ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ὁ πάντων κυριεύων καὶ ἔχων πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν οὐ μνησικακεῖ τοῖς ἑξομολογουμένοις τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἴλεως γίνεται, ἄνθρωπος φθαρτὸς ὢν καὶ πλήρης ἀμαρτιῶν ἀνθρώπῳ μνησικακεῖ ὥς δυνάμενος ἀπολέσαι ἢ σῶσαι αὐτόν; 5. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας· ὅσοι ταύτην ἔχετε τὴν αἵρεσιν, ἀπόθεσθε αὐτὴν καὶ μετανοήσατε, καὶ ὁ κύριος ἰάσεται ὑμῶν τὰ πρότερα ἀμαρτήματα, ἐὰν καθαρίσγητε ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ δαιμονίου· εἰ δὲ μή, παραδοθήσεσθε αὐτῷ εἰς θάνατον.

100 (IX.23)

“As to the believers from the sixth mountain, which has both large and small rifts and wilted plants in the rifts: 2. the ones with the small rifts are those who hold grudges against one another and have become withered in their faith because they have slandered one another. But many of these have repented, and the others will repent as well, when they hear my commandments. For their slanders are slight, and they will repent quickly. 3. But those with the large rifts persist in their slanders and bear malice towards one another out of anger. And so these have been cast down from the tower and rejected for its building. These, therefore, will live only with difficulty. 4. If our God and Lord—who rules over all and holds the authority over his entire creation—shows no malice towards those who confess their sins but becomes merciful, will a mere mortal full of sins bear malice against another, as if he had the power to destroy or save him? 5. But I, the angel of repentance, say to all of you who have this schismatic thought, be rid of it and repent, and the Lord will heal the sins you formerly committed, if you cleanse yourselves from this demon. If not, you will be handed over to him and die.

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐβδόμου ὅρους, ἐν ᾧ βοτάναι χλωραὶ καὶ ἱλαραί, καὶ ὅλον τὸ ὅρος εὐθηνοῦν, καὶ πᾶν γένος κτηνῶν καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ²³⁰ ἐνέμοντο τὰς βοτάνας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὄρει, καὶ αἱ βοτάναι, ἃς ἐνέμοντο, μᾶλλον εὐθαλεῖς ἐγίνοντο, οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσι· 2. πάντοτε ἁπλοῖ καὶ ἄκακοι καὶ μακάριοι²³¹ ἐγίνοντο, μηδὲν κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐνδεδυμένοι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τούτων τῶν παρθένων καὶ πάντοτε σπλάγχνον ἔχοντες ἐπὶ πάντα ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐχορήγησαν ἀνυνειδίστως καὶ ἀδιστάκτως. 3. ὁ οὖν κύριος ἰδὼν τὴν ἀπλότητα αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσαν νηπιότητα²³² ἐπλήθυνεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς κόποις τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐχαρίτωσεν αὐτοὺς ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτῶν. 4. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τοῖς τοιούτοις οὖσιν ἐγὼ ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας· διαμείνατε τοιοῦτοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐξαλειφθήσεται τὸ σπέρμα ὑμῶν ἕως αἰῶνος· ἐδοκίμασε γὰρ ὑμᾶς ὁ κύριος καὶ ἐνέγραψεν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸν ἡμέτερον, καὶ ὅλον τὸ σπέρμα ὑμῶν κατοικήσει μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ πνεύματος²³³ αὐτοῦ ἐλάβετε.²³⁴

²³⁰ καὶ τὰ . . . οὐρανοῦ A L² E: om. L¹

²³¹ καὶ μακάριοι A E: om. L L

²³² νηπιότητα L L E: ἡπιότητα A

²³³ πνεύματος L L E: σπέρματος A

101 (IX.24)

“As to the believers from the seventh mountain, where green and healthy plants grow and the entire mountain flourishes, with every kind of animal and bird of the air grazing among its plants—plants that thrive all the more, even when grazed: 2. these believers have become simple, innocent, and fortunate at all times, holding no grudge against one another but always rejoicing in the slaves of God, wearing the holy spirit of these virgins and always being compassionate to everyone. And they have provided what is needed to everyone out of their own labors, without reproach or hesitation. 3. And so, when the Lord saw their simplicity and all their child-like innocence, he filled them through the labors of their hands and favored them in their every deed. 4. But I, the angel of repentance, say to you who are like this: stay this way, and your descendants will never be obliterated. For the Lord has approved of you and inscribed you among our number, and all your descendants will dwell with the Son of God. For you have received a portion of his Spirit.

²³⁴ ἐλάβετε A E: *estis* L L

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

102 (IX.25)

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὅρους τοῦ ὀγδόου, οὗ ἦσαν αἱ πολλαὶ πηγαὶ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις τοῦ κυρίου ἐποτίζετο ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν, οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν· 2. ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι οἱ κηρύξαντες εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον καὶ οἱ διδάξαντες σεμνῶς καὶ ἀγνῶς τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως νοσφισάμενοι εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν πονηράν, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ πορευθέντες, καθὼς καὶ παρέλαβον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. τῶν τοιούτων οὖν ἡ ἀράδος μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστίν.

103 (IX.26)

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὅρους τοῦ ἐνάτου τοῦ ἐρημώδους, τοῦ τὰ ἐρπετὰ καὶ θηρία ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχοντος τὰ διαφθείροντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,²³⁵ οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν· 2. οἱ μὲν τοὺς σπίλους ἔχοντες διάκονοί εἰσι κακῶς διακονήσαντες καὶ διαρπάσαντες χηρῶν καὶ ὀρφανῶν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ ἑαυτοῖς περιποιησάμενοι ἐκ τῆς διακονίας ἧς ἔλαβον διακονῆσαι· ἂν οὖν ἐπιμείνωσι τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ, ἀπέθανον καὶ οὐδεμία αὐτοῖς ἐλπίς ζωῆς· ἂν δὲ ἐπιστρέψωσι καὶ ἀγνῶς τελειώσωσι τὴν διακονίαν αὐτῶν, δυνήσονται ζῆσαι. 3. οἱ δὲ ἐψωριακότες, οὗτοι οἱ ἀρνησάμενοί εἰσι καὶ μὴ ἐπιστρέψαντες ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ χερσωθέντες καὶ γενόμενοι ἐρημώδεις, μὴ κολλώμενοι τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ μονάζοντες ἀπολλύουσι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς.

102 (IX.25)

“As to the believers from the eighth mountain, where there were many springs that provided drink to all the creatures of the Lord: 2. they are apostles and teachers who proclaimed their message throughout the whole world and taught the word of the Lord with reverence and holiness. They misappropriated nothing for their own evil desire, but always proceeded in righteousness and truth, just as they received the Holy Spirit. And so their path lies with the angels.

103 (IX.26)

“As to the believers from the ninth mountain, which is a wasteland and has reptiles and wild beasts that destroy people: 2. the stones that are stained are ministers who have ministered badly, snatching away the livelihood of widows and orphans and providing a living for themselves out of the ministry they have received. If therefore they remain in this desire, they die with no hope of life. But if they convert and complete their ministry in a holy way, they will be able to live. 3. But the stones that have a rough surface are those who have denied the Lord and not returned to him. They have become a deserted wasteland, not clinging to the slaves of God but destroying their own souls in isola-

²³⁵ τὰ . . . ἀνθρώπους A L²: om. L¹ E

4. ὥς γὰρ ἄμπελος ἐν φραγμῷ τινι καταλειφθεῖσα ἀμελείας τυγχάνουσα καταφθείρεται καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βοτανῶν ἐρημοῦται καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀγρία γίνεται, καὶ οὐκέτι εὐχρηστός ἐστι τῷ δεσπότῃ ἐαυτῆς, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνθρωποι ἐαυτοὺς ἀπεγνώκασι καὶ γίνονται ἄχρηστοι τῷ κυρίῳ ἐαυτῶν ἀγριωθέντες. 5. τούτοις οὖν μετάνοια γίνεται, ἐὰν μὴ ἐκ καρδίας εὐρεθῶσιν ἡρνημένοι· ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ καρδίας εὐρεθῇ ἡρνημένος τις, οὐκ οἶδα, εἰ δύναται ζῆσαι. 6. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ²³⁶ εἰς ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας²³⁷ λέγω, ἵνα τις ἀρνησάμενος μετάνοιαν λάβῃ· ἀδύνατον γάρ ἐστι σωθῆναι τὸν μέλλοντα νῦν ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸν κύριον ἐαυτοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις τοῖς πάλαι ἡρνημένοις δοκεῖ κεῖσθαι μετάνοια. εἴ τις οὖν μέλλει μετανοεῖν, ταχινὸς γενέσθω πρὶν τὸν πύργον ἀποτελεσθῆναι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν καταφθαρήσεται εἰς θάνατον. 7. καὶ οἱ κολοβοί, οὗτοι δόλιοί εἰσι καὶ κατάλαλοι· καὶ τὰ θηρία, ἃ εἶδες εἰς τὸ ὄρος, οὗτοί εἰσιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ θηρία διαφθείρει τῷ ἐαυτῶν ἰῶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀπολλύει, οὕτω καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων τὰ ῥήματα διαφθείρει τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀπολλύει. 8. οὗτοι οὖν κολοβοί εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἣν ἔχουσιν ἐν ἐαυτοῖς· τινὲς δὲ μετενόησαν καὶ ἐσώθησαν. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὄντες δύνανται σωθῆναι, ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκείνων, ὧν τὴν δύναμιν ἔχουσιν, ἀποθανοῦνται.

tion. 4. For just as a vine left untended on a fence is ruined and overrun with weeds, and after a time grows wild and is no longer of any use to its master, so also people like this have despaired of themselves and become useless to their own Lord because they have grown wild. 5. Thus repentance can come to these people, if they are found not to have denied the Lord from their hearts; but if one of them is found to have done so, I do not know if he can live. 6. I am not saying that at the present time someone can deny the Lord and receive repentance; for the one who is about to deny his Lord now cannot be saved. But repentance appears to be available to those who made a denial before now. And so, if anyone is about to repent, let him do so quickly before the tower is completed. Otherwise, he will be destroyed by the women. 7. And the stones that were broken off are the deceitful and slanderers. They are also the wild beasts you saw on the mountain. For just as the wild beasts annihilate and destroy a person with their poison, so also the words of such people annihilate and destroy him. 8. These are therefore broken off from their faith because of what they did to one another. But some have repented and been saved. And the rest who are like this can be saved if they repent. If they do not, they will be put to death by those very women whose power they exert.

²³⁶ οὐκ A L² E: om. L¹

²³⁷ εἰς . . . ἡμέρας A L¹ E: om. L²

104 (IX.27)

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὅρους τοῦ δεκάτου, οὗ ἦσαν δένδρα σκεπάζοντα πρόβατά τινα, οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν· 2. ἐπίσκοποι καὶ φιλόξενοι, οἵτινες ἡδέως εἰς τοὺς οἴκους ἑαυτῶν πάντοτε ὑπεδέξαντο τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἄτερ ὑποκρίσεως· οἱ δὲ ἐπίσκοποι πάντοτε τοὺς ὑστερημένους καὶ τὰς χήρας τῇ διακονίᾳ ἑαυτῶν ἀδιαλείπτως ἐσκέπασαν καὶ ἀγνώως ἀνεστράφησαν πάντοτε. 3. οὗτοι οὖν πάντες σκεπασθήσονται ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου διαπαντός. οἱ οὖν ταῦτα ἐργασάμενοι ἔνδοξοί εἰσι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἤδη ὁ τόπος αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστίν, ἐὰν ἐπιμείνωσιν ἕως τέλους λειτουργοῦντες τῷ κυρίῳ.

105 (IX.28)

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὅρους τοῦ ἑνδεκάτου, οὗ ἦσαν δένδρα καρπῶν πλήρη, ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις καρποῖς κεκοσμημένα, οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν· 2. οἱ παθόντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ,²³⁸ οἱ καὶ προθύμως ἔπαθον ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ παρέδωκαν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν. 3. διατί οὖν, φημί, κύριε, πάντα μὲν τὰ δένδρα καρποὺς ἔχει, τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καρποὶ εὐειδέστεροί εἰσιν; ἄκουε, φησίν· ὅσοι ποτὲ ἔπαθον διὰ τὸ ὄνομα, ἔνδοξοί εἰσι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πάντων τούτων αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ἀφηρέθησαν, ὅτι ἔπαθον διὰ τὸ ὄνομα²³⁹ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. διατί δὲ οἱ καρποὶ αὐτῶν

104 (IX.27)

“As to the believers from the tenth mountain, where there were trees providing shelter for some sheep: 2. they are bishops and those who are hospitable, who always gladly welcomed the slaves of God into their homes without hypocrisy. And through their ministry, the bishops always provided constant shelter for those in need and for the widows, and they always conducted themselves in a holy way. 3. And so all these will be sheltered by the Lord at all times. Thus those who engage in such works are glorious before God and already have their place with the angels, if they continue serving the Lord until the end.

105 (IX.28)

“As to the believers from the eleventh mountain, where there were laden fruit trees, adorned with various kinds of fruit: 2. they are those who have suffered for the name of the Son of God—suffered willingly from their whole heart and handed over their lives.” 3. “Why, then, Lord,” I asked, “do all the trees have fruit, but some fruits are more beautiful than others?” “Listen,” he said; “all those who at one time or another have suffered for the sake of the name are glorious before God and the sins of all of them are forgiven, because they suffered for the name of the Son of

²³⁸ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ A: *domini* L L: *eius* E

²³⁹ ὄνομα A: add, *domini* L L: add *eius* E

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

ποικίλοι εἰσίν, τινὲς δὲ ὑπερέχοντες, ἄκουε. 4. ὅσοι, φησίν, ἐπ' ἐξουσίαν ἀχθέντες ἐξητάσθησαν καὶ οὐκ ἡρνήσαντο, ἀλλ' ἔπαθον προθύμως, οὗτοι μᾶλλον ἐνδοξότεροί εἰσι παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ· τούτων ὁ καρπὸς ἐστίν ὁ ὑπερέχων. ὅσοι δὲ δειλοὶ καὶ ἐν δισταγμῷ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐλογίσαντο ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, πό-
τερον ἀρνήσονται ἢ ὁμολογήσουσι, καὶ ἔπαθον, τού-
των οἱ καρποὶ ἐλάττους εἰσίν, ὅτι ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν
καρδίαν αὐτῶν ἡ βουλή αὕτη· πονηρὰ γὰρ ἡ βουλή
αὕτη, ἵνα δούλος κύριον ἴδιον ἀρνήσῃται. 5. βλέπετε
οὖν ὑμεῖς οἱ ταῦτα βουλευόμενοι, μήποτε ἡ βουλή
αὕτη διαμένη ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν καὶ ἀποθάνῃ
τῷ θεῷ. ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ πάσχοντες ἔνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος
δοξάζειν ὀφείλετε τὸν θεόν, ὅτι ἀξίους ὑμᾶς ἡγήσατο
ὁ θεός, ἵνα τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα βαστάζητε καὶ πᾶσαι
ἡμῶν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ἰαθῶσιν. 6. οὐκοῦν μακαρίζετε ἑαυ-
τούς· ἀλλὰ δοκεῖτε ἔργον μέγα πεποιηκέναι, ἐάν τις
ὑμῶν διὰ τὸν θεόν²⁴⁰ πάθῃ. ζῶν ὑμῖν ὁ κύριος χαρί-
ζεται, καὶ οὐ νοεῖτε· αἱ γὰρ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν κατεβάρη-
σαν, καὶ εἰ μὴ πεπόνθατε ἔνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος κυρίου,
διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν τεθνήσκετε ἂν τῷ θεῷ. 7. ταῦτα
ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς διστάζουσιν περὶ ἀρνήσεως ἢ ὁμολογή-
σεως· ὁμολογεῖτε ὅτι κύριον ἔχετε, μήποτε ἀρνούμενοι
παραδοθήσῃσθε εἰς δεσμωτήριον. 8. εἰ τὰ ἔθνη τοὺς
δούλους αὐτῶν κολάζουσιν, ἐάν τις ἀρνήσῃται τὸν
κύριον ἑαυτοῦ, τί δοκεῖτε ποιήσει ὁ κύριος ὑμῖν, ὃς
ἔχει πάντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν; ἄρατε τὰς βουλὰς ταύτας
ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν, ἵνα διαπαντὸς ζήσητε τῷ θεῷ.

God. But listen to why they have different kinds of fruit and some is superior. 4. All those," he said, "who have been led before an authority and interrogated, and suffered willingly without making a denial, are more glorious before the Lord. Their fruit is superior. But all those who have been cowardly and filled with doubt and who have questioned in their heart whether to deny the Lord or confess him, and then suffered anyway—their fruit is inferior, because this notion arose in their heart. For it is an evil notion for a slave to deny his own lord. 5. And so, you who are thinking about doing these things, take care or this notion may stay in your heart and you may die to God. But you who suffer on account of the name should glorify God, because he considered you worthy to bear this name and to be healed of all your sins. 6. Consider yourselves fortunate. But realize that you have done a great work, if any of you suffers for God. The Lord graciously gives you life, and you do not understand it, for your sins have weighed you down; and if you did not suffer on account of the name of the Lord, you would have died to God because of your sins. 7. I say these things to you who cannot decide whether to deny or confess. Confess that you have a master [*Or: the Lord*], lest after making a denial you be delivered over to prison. 8. If the outsiders punish their slaves for denying their own lord, what do you suppose the Lord who has authority over all things will do to you? Remove these notions from your heart, that you may live to God at all times.

240 διὰ τὸν θεὸν A E: om. L L

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ δωδεκάτου τοῦ λευκοῦ οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν· ὡς νήπια βρέφη εἰσὶν, οἷς οὐδεμία κακία ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν οὐδὲ ἔγνωσαν, τί ἐστι πονηρία, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ἐν νηπιότητι διέμειναν. 2. οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὖν ἀδιστάκτως κατοικήσουσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐν οὐδενὶ πράγματι ἐμίαναν τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ νηπιότητος διέμειναν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ φρονήσει. 3. ὅσοι οὖν διαμενεῖτε, φησί, καὶ ἔσεσθε ὡς τὰ βρέφη, κακίαν μὴ ἔχοντες, πάντων τῶν προειρημένων ἐνδοξότεροι ἔσεσθε· πάντα γὰρ τὰ βρέφη ἐνδοξά ἐστι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πρῶτα παρ' αὐτῷ. μακάριοι οὖν ὑμεῖς, ὅσοι ἂν ἄρῃτε ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν πονηρίαν, ἐνδύσησθε δὲ τὴν ἀκακίαν· πρῶτοι πάντων ζήσεσθε τῷ θεῷ. 4. μετὰ τὸ συντελέσαι αὐτὸν τὰς παραβολὰς τῶν ὁρέων λέγω αὐτῷ· κύριε, νῦν μοι δήλωσον περὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἡρμένων ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τεθειμένων ἀντὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἡρμένων ἐκ τοῦ πύργου, καὶ τῶν στρογγύλων τῶν τεθέντων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν καὶ τῶν ἔτι στρογγύλων ὄντων.

Ἄκουε, φησὶν, καὶ περὶ τούτων πάντων. οἱ λίθοι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἡρμένοι καὶ τεθειμένοι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν

106 (IX.29)

“As to the believers from the twelfth mountain, which was white: they are like young infants, who have never had evil arise in their hearts, nor have they known what is evil, but have always remained in their childlike innocence. 2. Such people will certainly dwell in the kingdom of God, because they have not defiled the commandments of God by anything they have done, but with childlike innocence they have remained in the same state of mind all the days of their lives. 3. And so, all of you who remain like this,” he said, “innocent as infants, will be more glorious than everyone mentioned before. For every infant is glorious before God and preeminent with him. Thus you who remove evil from yourselves and are clothed in innocence are fortunate; you will live as preeminent above all others before God.” 4. After he completed the parables of the mountains I said to him, “Lord, now explain to me about the stones that were taken from the plain and set in the building in place of the ones removed from the tower, and about the round stones that were set in the building, and about those that are still round.”

107 (IX.30)

“Listen,” he said, “about all these things as well. The stones that were taken from the plain and set in the building of

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

τοῦ πύργου ἀντὶ τῶν ἀποβεβλημένων αἱ ῥίζαι εἰσὶ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ λευκοῦ τούτου. 2. ἐπεὶ οὖν οἱ πιστεύσαντες ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ λευκοῦ πάντες ἄκακοι εὐρέθησαν, ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος τοῦ πύργου τούτους ἐκ τῶν ῥιζῶν²⁴¹ τοῦ ὄρους τούτου βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου· ἔγνω γὰρ ὅτι, ἐὰν ἀπέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι, διαμενοῦσι λαμποί, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν μελανήσει.²⁴² 3. quodsi de ceteris montibus adiecisset, necesse habuisset rursus visitare eam turrem atque purgare. hi autem omnes candidi inventi sunt, οἱ πιστεύσαντες καὶ μέλλοντες πιστεῦειν· ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γὰρ γένους εἰσίν. μακάριον τὸ γένος τοῦτο ὅτι ἄκακόν ἐστι. 4. ἤκουε νῦν καὶ περὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν στρογγύλων καὶ λαμπρῶν. καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ λευκοῦ εἰσιν. audi autem quare rotundi sunt reperti. divitiae suae eos pusillum obscuraverunt a veritate atque obfuscaverunt; a deo vero numquam recesserunt, nec ullum verbum malum processit de ore eorum, sed omnis aequitas et virtus veritatis. 5. horum ergo mentem cum vidisset dominus, posse eos veritati favere, bonos quoque permanere, iussit et opes eorum circumcidi, non enim in totum tolli, ut possint aliquid boni facere de eo quod eis relictum est; et vivent deo, quoniam ex bono genere sunt. ideo ergo pusillum circumcisi sunt et positi sunt in structuram turris huius.

²⁴¹ τῶν ῥιζῶν L L (E): om. A

²⁴² The following Latin text is that of L¹ (the Vulgate version).

the tower to replace the ones cast out are the roots of this white mountain. 2. And so, since all the believers from the white mountain have been found innocent, the Lord of the tower ordered them to be taken from the roots of this mountain for the building of the tower. For he knew that if these stones came into the building of the tower, they would remain bright and none of them would turn black. 3. But if he had added some from other mountains, he would have had to visit this tower again and cleanse it. But all these—both those who believe and those who are about to believe—have been found white, for they are of the same kind. This kind is fortunate because it is innocent. 4. Listen now also about the stones that are round and bright. All these are also from the white mountain. But listen to why they have been discovered to be round. Their riches have partially blinded and obstructed them from the truth. Still, they have never departed from God, nor has any evil word come forth from their mouths, but only what is upright and worthy of the truth. 5. And so, when the Lord saw their minds, that they were able to countenance truth and to remain good, he ordered their riches to be cut away—but not to be removed entirely, that they may be able to do something good from what was left to them. And they will live to God, since they are of a good kind. And so they were trimmed a bit and set in this tower building.

Ceteri vero, qui adhuc rotundi remanserunt neque aptati sunt in eam structuram,²⁴³ quia nondum acceperunt sigillum, repositi sunt suo loco; valde enim rotundi reperti sunt. 2. oportet autem circumcidi hoc saeculum ab illis et vanitates opum suarum, et tunc convenient in dei regnum. necesse est enim eos intrare in dei regnum; hoc enim genus innocuum benedixit dominus. ex hoc ergo genere non intercidet quisquam. etenim licet quis eorum temptatus a nequissimo diabolo aliquid deliquerit, cito recurret ad dominum suum. 3. felices vos iudico omnes²⁴⁴ ego nuntius paenitentiae, quicumque estis innocentes sicut infantes, quoniam pars vestra bona est et honorata apud deum. 4. dico autem omnibus vobis, quicumque sigillum hoc accepistis, simplicitatem habere neque offensarum memores esse neque in malitia vestra permanere aut in memoria offensarum amaritudinis;²⁴⁵ in unum quoque spiritum fieri, et has malas scissuras permedicare ac tollere a vobis, ut dominus pecorum gaudeat de his. 5. χαρήσεται δέ, ἐὰν πάντα ὑγίῃ εὐρεθῇ καὶ μὴ διαπεπτωκότα τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν. ἐὰν δὲ εὐρεθῇ τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν διαπεπτωκότα, οὐαὶ τοῖς ποιμέσιν ἔσται. 6. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ποιμένες εὐρεθῶσιν διαπεπτωκότες, τί ἐροῦσιν τῷ δεσπότῃ τοῦ ποιμνίου; ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν προβάτων διέπεσαν; οὐ πιστευθήσονται· ἄπιστον γὰρ πρᾶγμά ἐστιν, ποιμένα ὑπὸ προβάτων παθεῖν τι. μᾶλλον δὲ κολασθή-

²⁴³ aptati . . . structura S: apti sunt in ea structura A O Z

²⁴⁴ omnes S A O: om. Z

²⁴⁵ amaritudinis S^c A^c: amaritudines S A Z: et amaritudinis O

108 (IX.31)

“But the others, which have remained round until now and were not fit into the building, because they have not yet received the seal: these were returned to their own place. For they were found to be extremely round. 2. For this age must be cut away from them, along with the vanities of their wealth, and then they will be suitable for the kingdom of God. For they must enter the kingdom of God, for the Lord has blessed this innocent kind. And so, no one of this kind will perish. Even if one of them is tempted by the most wicked devil and commits a sin, he will quickly return to his Lord. 3. I, the angel of repentance, judge all of you fortunate, you who are innocent as infants, since your part is good and honorable before God. 4. But I say to all of you who have received this seal: hold on to your simplicity and do not bear grudges or remain in your evil ways or dwell on the bitterness of past indignities. Be one in spirit, heal these evil schisms and remove them from yourselves, that the Lord of the flocks may rejoice in them. 5. He will rejoice if all of them are found healthy and none of them has been scattered. But woe to the shepherds if any of the sheep are found scattered. 6. And if the shepherds themselves are found scattered, what will they say to the Lord of the flock? That they were scattered because of the sheep? No one would believe them. For it would be beyond belief that the shepherd could suffer from the sheep. Instead

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

σονται διὰ τὸ ψεῦδος αὐτῶν.²⁴⁶ et ego sum pastor, et validissime oportet me de vobis reddere rationem.

109 (IX.32)

Remediate ergo vos, dum adhuc turris aedificatur. 2. dominus habitat in viris amantibus pacem; ei enimvero pax cara est, a litigiosis vero et perditis malitiae longe abest. reddite igitur ei spiritum integrum, sicut accepistis. 3. si enim dederis fulloni vestimentum novum integrum, idque integrum²⁴⁷ iterum vis recipere, fullo autem si scissum tibi illud reddat, recipies illud? nonne statim scandescis et eum convicio²⁴⁸ persequeris, dicens: vestimentum integrum tibi dedi. quare scidisti illud et inutile redigisti, et propter scissuram, quam in eo fecisti, in usu esse non potest? nonne haec omnia verba dices fulloni ergo et de scissura quam in vestimento tuo fecerit? 4. si igitur tu doles de vestimento tuo et quaereris quod non illud integrum recipias, quid putas dominum tibi facturum, qui spiritum integrum tibi dedit, et tu eum totum inutilem redigisti, ita ut nullo usu esse possit domino suo? inutilis enim esse coepit usus eius, cum sit corruptus a te. nonne igitur dominus spiritus eius propter hoc factum tuum morte te²⁴⁹ adficiet? 5. plane, inquam, omnes eos, quoscumque invenerit in memoria offensarum permanere, adficiet. clementiam, inquit, eius calcare nolite, sed potius honorificate eum,

²⁴⁶ The Greek in this chapter is from Antiochus, Πανδέκτης τῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς

²⁴⁷ *novum . . . integrum*² S A: *integrum novum* Z

²⁴⁸ *convicio* S Z: *continuo* A

²⁴⁹ *morte te* cj. Gebhardt

they will be punished because of their lie. I am myself a shepherd, and so am all the more pressed to give an account for you.

109 (IX.32)

“Therefore, heal yourselves while the tower is being built. 2. The Lord dwells with those who love peace. For indeed, peace is dear to him, but he keeps his distance from those who are contentious and destroyed by malice. And so, return your spirit to him intact, just as you received it. 3. For if you give a new garment to a cleaner, intact, and you want to receive it back from him intact, but the cleaner gives it back to you torn, will you accept it? Will you not immediately grow livid and hound him with abuse, saying, ‘I gave you this garment in one piece! Why did you tear it and ruin it? It cannot be worn now that you have made this tear in it!’ Won’t you say something like this to the cleaner for tearing your garment? 4. And so, if you are upset about your garment and complain that you have not received it back intact, what do you think the Lord will do to you? For he gave you his spirit intact but you brought it back completely worthless, so that it can be of no use to its Lord. For it is no longer good for anything, once you have destroyed it. Will the Lord of this spirit not hand you over to death because of what you have done?” 5. “Certainly,” I replied, “he will punish everyone who bears grudges.” “Do not,” he said, “trample on his mercy, but rather honor him, since he

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

quod tam patiens est ad delicta vestra, et non est sicut vos.
agite enim paenitentiam; utile²⁵⁰ est vobis.

110 (IX.33)

Ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προγεγραμμένα ἐγὼ ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας ἔδειξα καὶ ἐλάλησα τοῖς δούλοις²⁵¹ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐὰν πεισθῇτε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀκούσητε τῶν ῥημάτων μου καὶ πορευθῇτε ἐν αὐτοῖς²⁵² καὶ κατορθώσητε τὰς ὁδοὺς ὑμῶν, ζῆσαι δύνασθε. ἐὰν δὲ παραμείνητε τῇ δολιότητι καὶ μνησικακίᾳ, οὐδεὶς τῶν τοιούτων ζήσει τῷ θεῷ. ταῦτα πάντα παρ' ἐμοῦ ἔδει λαληθῆναι²⁵³ λελάληται ὑμῖν.²⁵⁴ 2. λέγει μοι ὁ ποιμήν· πάντα με ἐπηρώτησας; ναί, φημί, κύριε. τί ὅτι, φησίν, οὐκ ἐπηρώτησας περὶ τῶν τύπων τῶν λίθων τῶν ἀπεληλυθόντων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν, ὧν ἐξεπληρώσαμεν; ἐπελαθόμεν, φημί, κύριε. 3. ἄκουε νῦν, φησί, περὶ αὐτῶν· οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ νῦν ἀκούσαντες τῶν ἐντολῶν μου καὶ μετανοήσαντες ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπεὶ εἶδεν²⁵⁵ ὁ κύριος²⁵⁶ τὴν μετάνοιαν αὐτῶν καλὴν καὶ καθαρὰν καὶ δυναμένους παραμείναι ἐν τῇ μετανοίᾳ αὐτῶν, ἐκέλευσεν τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν τὰς προτέρας ἐξαλειφθῆναι. οἱ γὰρ τύποι οὗτοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτῶν ἦσαν. ἐξωμαλίσθησαν οὖν εἰς τὸ μηκέτι φαίνεσθαι αὐτάς.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁰ *utile* S: *utiles* A: *utilem* Z^{vid}.

²⁵¹ τοῖς δούλοις L: τῷ δούλῳ F E

²⁵² καὶ . . . αὐτοῖς L E: om. F

is so patient with your sins and is not like you. And so come and repent, for it is good for you.

110 (IX.33)

“All these things written above I, the shepherd, the angel of repentance, have shown and spoken to the slaves of God. And so, if you believe them and hear my words and proceed in them and correct your ways, you will be able to live. But if you persist in being deceitful and dwell on indignities—no one like this will live to God. I have told you everything that I needed to say.” 2. The shepherd said to me, “Have you asked me everything?” I replied, “Yes, Lord, I have.” “But why have you not asked me about the impressions left by the stones placed in the building, which we filled in?” “I forgot, Lord,” I replied. 3. “Listen, now,” he said, “concerning these. These are the ones who now have heard my commandments and repented from their whole heart; and when the Lord saw that their repentance was good and pure, and that they were able to remain in it, he ordered their former sins to be expunged. These impressions, therefore, were their sins, and they have been leveled over so that they may no longer be seen.”

²⁵³ παρ' . . . λαληθῆναι (L¹): om. F L² E

²⁵⁴ λελάληται ὑμῖν L¹: add τὰ ῥήματα F: *verba praedicta sunt vobis* L²: *locutus sum vobis propter vos* E

²⁵⁵ ἐπεὶ εἶδεν L¹ E: ἔπειδεν F (L²)

²⁵⁶ κύριος L E: θεός F

²⁵⁷ The Greek in this chapter is from F.

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

Similitudo Decima

111 (X.1)

Postquam perscripseram librum hunc, venit nuntius ille, qui me tradiderat huic pastori, in domum, in qua eram, et consedit supra lectum, et adstitit ad dexteram hic pastor. deinde vocavit me, et haec mihi dixit: 2. tradidi te, inquit, et domum tuam huic pastori, ut ab eo protegi possis. ita, inquam, domine. si vis ergo protegi, inquit, ab omni vexatione et ab omni saevitia, successum autem habere in omni opere bono atque verbo, et omnem virtutem aequitatis, in mandatis huius ingredi, quae dedit²⁵⁸ tibi, et poteris dominari omni nequitiae. 3. custodienti enim tibi mandata huius²⁵⁹ subiecta erit omnis cupiditas et dulcedo saeculi huius; successus vero in omni bono negotio te sequetur. maturitatem huius et modestiam suscipe in te, et dic omnibus in magno honore esse eum et dignitate apud dominum, et magnae potestatis eum praesidem esse et potentem in officio suo. huic soli per totum orbem paenitentiae potestas tributa est. potesne tibi videtur esse? sed vos maturitatem huius et verecundiam, quam in vos habet, dispicitis.

112 (X.2)

Dico ei: interroga ipsum, domine, ex quo in domo mea est, an aliquid extra ordinem fecerim, ex quo eum offenderim. 2. et ego, inquit, scio nihil extra ordinem fecisse te neque esse facturum. et ideo haec loquor tecum, ut perseveres;

²⁵⁸ *dedit* A Z: *dedi* S

²⁵⁹ *huius* S: *haec* A Z

Parable Ten

111 (X.1)

After I had written out this book, the angel who had handed me over to this shepherd came to me in the house where I was staying and sat on the couch, with the shepherd standing on his right. And the angel called to me and said: 2. "I handed you and your house over to this shepherd, so that you could be protected by him." "Yes you did, Lord," I replied. "So if you want to be protected from all trouble and violence," he said, "and to enjoy success in your every deed and word, along with all just virtue, proceed in the commandments he has given you. Then you will be able to rule over every wickedness. 3. For when you guard his commandments, every desire and alluring charm of this age will be subject to you, and you will succeed in every good undertaking [*Or: business dealing*]. Take his perfection and moderation upon yourself, and tell everyone that he is held in great honor and dignity before the Lord, and that he is the mighty protector, powerful in what he does. To this one alone has been given the power of repentance, throughout the entire world. Does he not seem powerful to you? Yet you have despised his perfection and moderation towards you."

112 (X.2)

I said to him, "Ask him, Lord, if I have committed a transgression to offend him since he has been in my house." 2. "I know myself," he replied, "that you have neither committed nor are about to commit a transgression. And so I am telling you these things that you may persevere; for this one has spoken highly of you to me. And you should tell

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

bene enim de te hic apud existimavit. tu autem ceteris haec verba dices, ut et illi qui egerunt aut acturi sunt paenitentiam, eadem quae tu sentiant, et hic apud me de his bene interpretetur, et ego apud me dominum. 3. et ego, inquam, domine, omni homini indico magnalia domini. spero autem eos omnes qui iam antea²⁶⁰ peccaverunt, si haec audiant, libenter acturi sunt paenitentiam, vitam recuperantes. 4. permane ergo, inquit, in hoc ministerio et consumma illud. quicumque autem mandata huius efficiunt, habebunt vitam, et hic apud dominum magnum honorem. quicumque vero huius mandata non servant, fugiunt a sua vita et adversus illum sunt, hic autem apud dominum habet honorem suum. quicumque ergo fuerint adversus illum, nec mandata eius sequuntur,²⁶¹ morti se tradunt, et unusquisque eorum reus fit sanguinis sui. tibi autem dico ut servias mandatis his, et remedium peccatorum habebis.

113 (X.3)

Misi autem tibi has virgines,²⁶² ut habitent tecum; vidi enim eas affabiles tibi esse. habes ergo eas adiutrices, quo magis possis huius mandata servare; non potest enim fieri ut sine his virginibus haec mandata servantur. video autem eas libenter esse tecum. sed ego praecipiam eis, ut omnino a domo tua non discedant. 2. tu tantum conmunda domum tuam; in munda enim domo libenter habitabunt.

²⁶⁰ *iam antea: amant ea et S: antea A: iam ante Z*

²⁶¹ *adversus illum sunt . . . sequuntur L¹: hunc contemnunt; hic autem apud deum habet honorem suum. quicumque ergo contemnunt eum et non servant mandata eius, ipsi L²*

these things to others, that those who have repented or who are about to repent may think as you do, that he may give a good report about them to me, and I to the Lord.” 3. “I do indeed proclaim the Lord’s mighty works to everyone, Lord,” I said. “For I hope that everyone who has sinned before now will gladly repent when they hear these things, and regain their life.” 4. “Remain then in this ministry,” he said, “and complete it. For whoever does his commandments will have life and great honor before the Lord. For everyone who does not keep his commandments flees from life and opposes him; but this one has his honor with the Lord. And so, all those who oppose him and do not follow his commandments bring death on themselves, each of them bearing the guilt for his own blood. And so I say to you, keep these commandments and you will have a cure for your sins.

113 (X.3)

“I sent these virgins to live with you because I saw they were friendly with you. You have them as helpers that you may be able to keep these commandments all the more. For these commandments cannot be kept without these virgins. I also see that they enjoy being with you; I will order them never to leave your house. 2. But you must clean your house. For they will gladly live in a clean house, because they are themselves clean, unsullied, and diligent,

²⁶² *tibi has virgines S A: turbas virginum Z*

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

mundae enim sunt atque castae et industriae et omnes habentes gratiam apud dominum.²⁶³ igitur si habuerint domum tuam puram, tecum permanebunt; sin autem pusillum aliquid iniquationis acciderit, protinus a domo tua recedunt. hae enim virgines nullam omnino diligunt iniquationem. 3. dico ei: spero me, domine, placitum eis, ita ut in domo mea libenter habitent semper. 4. ὥσπερ δὲ οὗτος ᾧ παρέδωκάς με οὐ μέμφεταιί με οὐδὲ αὐταὶ μέμψονταιί με. λέγει τῷ ποιμένι· οἶδα ὅτι ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ θέλει ζῆν καὶ τηρήσει τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς παρθένους ἐν καθαρότητι καταστήσει. 5. ταῦτα εἰπὼν τῷ ποιμένι πάλιν παρέδωκέν με, καὶ τὰς παρθένους καλέσας . . . [nine letters?] . . . λέγει αὐταῖς.²⁶⁴ quoniam video vos libenter in domo eius habitare, conmendo eum vobis et domum eius, ut a domo eius non recedatis omnino. illae vero haec verba libenter audierunt.

114 (X.4)

Ait deinde mihi: viriliter in ministerio hoc conversare, omni homini indica magnalia domini, et habebis gratiam in hoc ministerio. quicumque ergo in his mandatis ambu-

²⁶³ *dominum* S A: *deum* Z

²⁶⁴ ὥσπερ . . . αὐταῖς P^{Ox}: *et sicut hic, cui me tradidisti, nihil de me queritur, ita neque illae querentur.* 4. *ait ad pastorem illum: video, inquit, servum dei velle vivere, et custoditurum haec mandata, et virgines has habitatione munda conlocaturum.* 5. *haec cum dixisset, iterum pastori illi me tradidit, et vocavit eas virgines et dixit ad eas:* L¹

and they all enjoy favor from the Lord. If therefore they find your house pure, they will remain with you. But if it should become at all contaminated, they will leave your house immediately. For these virgins never love any contamination.” 3. I said to him, “I hope, Lord, that I will be pleasing to them, that they may always live in my house cheerfully, and that just as this one to whom you have handed me over has no complaint against me, these may not either.” 4. He said to the shepherd, “I know that the slave of God wants to live, and that he will guard these commandments and provide a clean place for these virgins to live.” 5. When he said these things, he handed me over again to the care of that shepherd, and he called the virgins . . .⁵ and he said to them, “Since I see that you enjoy living in his house, I commend him and his house to you, that you may never leave it.” And they heard these words cheerfully.

114 (X.4)

Then he said to me, “Carry out this ministry in a manly way; proclaim to everyone the Lord’s mighty works and you will be favored in this ministry. For whoever proceeds in these commandments will live and lead a happy life. But

⁵ There is a small gap of about nine letters in the manuscript.

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

laverit, vivet, et felix erit in vita sua; quicumque vero neglexerit, non vivet, et erit infelix in vita sua. 2. dic omnibus ut non cessent, quicumque recte facere possunt, bona opera exercere; utile est illis. dico autem omnem hominem de incommodis eripi oportere. et is enim qui eget et in cotidiana vita patitur incommoda, in magno tormento est ac necessitate. 3. qui igitur huiusmodi animam eripit de necessitate, magnum gladium sibi acquirit. is enim, qui huiusmodi vexatur incommodo, pari tormento cruciatur atque torquet se qui in vincula est. multi enim propter huiusmodi calamitates, cum eas sufferre non possunt, mortem sibi adducunt. qui novit igitur calamitatem huiusmodi hominis et non eripit eum, magnum peccatum admittit, et reus fit sanguinis eius. 4. facite igitur opera bona, quicumque accepistis a domino, ne dum tardatis facere, consummetur structura turris. propter vos enim intermissum est opus aedificationis eius. nisi festinetis igitur facere recte, consummabitur turris, et excludimini. 5. postquam vero locutus est mecum, surrexit de lecto, et adprehenso pastore et virginibus abiit, dicens autem mihi remissurum se²⁶⁵ pastorem illum et virgines in domum meam.

²⁶⁵ *se* A O: *esse* S: om. Z

whoever neglects them will not live and will be unhappy in his life. 2. Tell everyone who is able to do what is right not to stop practicing good works; for doing them is useful. But I say that everyone should be helped out of his misfortunes. For the one who is destitute and suffers misfortunes in his daily life is in great torment and misery. 3. And so, whoever helps such a person out of his misery obtains great joy for himself. For the one who is vexed with this kind of misfortune suffers the same kind of torment as one who is in prison. For many who experience this kind of calamity, when they can no longer bear it, take their own lives. And so, whoever knows that someone like this is suffering calamity and does not help him out of it has committed a great sin and bears the guilt for his blood. 4. Therefore, you who have received something from the Lord should do good works; otherwise the building of the tower may be completed while you delay. The work of its construction has been suspended on your behalf; if you do not hasten to do what is right, the tower will be completed and you will be shut out." 5. After he spoke with me, he got up from the couch and went out, taking the shepherd and virgins with him, telling me that he would send the shepherd and virgins back to my house.

INDEX

Citation is to volume and page number.

Old Testament

Genesis

1:26	II. 27, 33	22:17	I. 95
1:26-27	I. 97	25:21-23	II. 63
1:27	I. 187	26:4	I. 95
1:28	I. 97, II. 33, 35	27:28	II. 93
2:2-3	II. 69	27:41ff.	I. 43
2:17	II. 159	28ff.	I. 95
2:23	I. 47	37	I. 43
3:24	II. 159	48:9	II. 63
4:3-8	I. 43	48:11	II. 63
5:24	I. 51	48:14	II. 43
6:8	I. 51	48:19	II. 43
7	I. 47	Exodus	
12:1-3	I. 53	2:14	I. 43
13:14-16	I. 53	3:11	I. 67
14:14	II. 45	4:10	I. 67
15:5	I. 95	14:23	I. 129
15:5-6	I. 53	15:26	II. 43
15:6	I. 95, II. 65	17:8-13	II. 57
17:4	II. 65	17:14	II. 61
17:23	II. 45	20:8	II. 67
18:21	I. 53	20:13-17	I. 421
18:27	I. 67	24:18	II. 65
19	I. 53	31:18	II. 23, 65
22	I. 53, 95	32:7	II. 23
		32:7-10	I. 131
		32:7-19	II. 67
		32:31-32	I. 131

INDEX

33:1	II. 33	32:8-9	I. 87
33:3	II. 33, 35	32:15	I. 39
34:28	II. 23	Joshua	
Leviticus		1:6	I. 379
11:3	II. 53	2	I. 55
11:6	II. 49	1 Samuel	
11:7-15	II. 47	13:14	I. 71
11:13-16	II. 49	18ff	I. 43
16	II. 37	Esther	
16:7	II. 39	4:16	I. 137
16:8	II. 39	7	I. 137
16:9	II. 39	Job	
16:10,	II. 39	1:1	I. 67
16:20-22	II. 39	4:16-18	I. 111
19:18	I. 417	4:19-5:5	I. 111
23:29	II. 37	5:17-26	I. 141
26:1	II. 59	11:2-3 (LXX)	I. 91
Numbers		14:4-5 (LXX)	I. 67
12	I. 43	15:15	I. 111
12:7	I. 67, 113	19:26	I. 85
16:13	I. 43	38:11	I. 75
16:23	I. 129	Psalms	
17	I. 113	1:1	II. 51
18:27	I. 89	1:3-6	II. 55
21:4-8	II. 59	2:7-8	I. 107
Deuteronomy		3:5	I. 85
4:2	I. 425	4:5	I. 349
4:10	II. 47	12:4-6	I. 61
4:13	II. 47	18:25-26	I. 119
4:34	I. 89	18:44	II. 43
5:12	II. 67	19:1-3	I. 87
6:5	I. 417	22:6-8	I. 65
9:12-14	I. 131	22:16	II. 29, 31
10:16	II. 45	22:18	II. 31
12:32	I. 425	22:20	II. 29
14:2	I. 89	22:22	II. 35
14:6	II. 53	22:25	II. 35
14:8-14	II. 47	24:1	I. 133
27:15	II. 59	28:7	I. 85

INDEX

31:18	I. 61	10:12	I. 191
32:1-2	I. 127	18:17	I. 253
32:10	I. 79	20:27	I. 79
33:9	I. 235	Isaiah	
34:11-17	I. 79	1:2	II. 43
34:12-13	II. 43 (2)	1:10	II. 43
34:19	I. 79	1:11-13	II. 17
37:9	I. 59	1:13	II. 71
37:11	I. 423	1:16-20	I. 49
37:35-37	I. 61	3:5	I. 41
37:38	I. 59	3:9-10	II. 33
42:4	II. 35	5:21	II. 25
49:14	I. 129	6:3	I. 99
50:14-15	I. 129	13:22 (LXX)	I. 81
50:16-23	I. 101	16:1-2	II. 53
51:1-17	I. 71	26:20	I. 127
51:17	I. 131, II. 17	28:14	II. 43
62:4	I. 61	28:16	II. 31
69:30-32	I. 129	29:13	I. 61, 169
78:36-37	I. 61	33:13	II. 43 (2)
90:4	II. 69	33:16-18	II. 55
104:4	I. 103	34:4	I. 191
110:1	I. 107, II. 61	40:3	II. 43
118:12	II. 31	40:10	I. 99, II. 83
118:19-20	I. 123	40:12	II. 71
118:22	II. 31	41:8	I. 51
118:24	II. 31	42:6-7	II. 67
139:7-8	I. 87	45:1	II. 61
141:5	I. 139	45:2-3	II. 53
146:6	II. 137	49:6-7	II. 67
Proverbs		49:17	II. 73
1:17	II. 27	50:6-7	II. 29
1:23-33	I. 141	50:7	II. 31
2:21-22	I. 59	50:8-9	II. 31
3:4	I. 341	50:10	II. 43
3:12	I. 139	52:5	I. 185, 265, 347
3:28	I. 347	53:1-12	I. 65
3:34	I. 91, 225	53:5	II. 27
7:3	I. 39	53:7	II. 27

INDEX

54:1	I. 167	13:17	II. 29
58:3-5	II. 17	14:5	I. 443
58:6-10	II. 17	Malachi	
58:9	I. 189	1:11	I. 439
59:14	I. 41	1:14	I. 439
60:17 (LXX)	I. 111	3:1	I. 81
61:1-2	II. 67	4:1	I. 191
65:2	II. 59		
66:1	II. 71		
66:2	I. 59	<i>New Testament</i>	
66:18	I. 193, 195, 251	Matthew	
66:24	I. 177, 195	3:15	I. 297
Jeremiah		4:40-41	I. 419
2:12-13	II. 53	5:5	I. 423
4:3-4	II. 45	5:7	I. 59
4:4	II. 43	5:10	I. 337
7:2-3	II. 43	5:23-24	I. 439
7:11	I. 187	5:26	I. 419
7:22	II. 17	5:33	I. 421
9:23-24	I. 57	5:39	I. 419
9:26	II. 45	5:44	I. 351, 417
17:24-25	II. 69	5:46-47	I. 417
Ezekiel		5:48	I. 419
11:19	II. 35	6:5	I. 429
14:14ff	I. 175	6:9-13	I. 431
33:11	I. 49	6:10	I. 375
37:12	I. 127	6:13	I. 343
47:1-12	II. 57	6:14-15	I. 59
Daniel		6:16	I. 429
3:19ff	I. 117	6:24	I. 173
6:16	I. 117	7:1-2	I. 59, 337
7:7-8	II. 21	7:6	I. 431
7:10	I. 99	7:12	I. 59, 417
7:24	II. 21	7:21	I. 171
9:24	II. 83	9:13	I. 169
Jonah		10:10	I. 439
3	I. 49	10:16	I. 171, 313
Zechariah		10:28	I. 173
8:17	II. 17	10:32	I. 169

INDEX

12:31	I. 435	13:37	I. 441
12:33	I. 235	14:3	I. 237
12:50	I. 179	Luke	
15:8	I. 61, 169	5:32	I. 169
16:6	II. 115	6:20	I. 337
16:26	I. 173	6:27	I. 351
19:12	I. 301	6:28	I. 417
19:18	I. 421	6:29-30	I. 419
21:13	I. 187	6:30	I. 419
22:14	II. 25	6:31	I. 59, 417
22:37-39	I. 417	6:32	I. 187
24:10	I. 443	6:32-33	I. 417
24:10-12	I. 443	6:35	I. 187, 417
24:13	I. 443	6:36-38	I. 59, 337
24:30	I. 443 (2)	8:21	I. 179
24:31	I. 443	9:25	I. 173
24:42	I. 441	10:3	I. 171
26:7	I. 237	10:27	I. 417
26:24	I. 121	12:4-5	I. 173
26:31	II. 29	12:8	I. 169
26:41	I. 343	12:40	I. 441
26:55	I. 375	12:59	I. 419
28:19	I. 429	16:10-12	I. 177
Mark		16:13	I. 173
2:17	I. 169	17:2	I. 121
3:18	II. 117	19:46	I. 187
3:35	I. 179	22:42	I. 375
4:3	I. 83	24:39	I. 299
7:6	I. 61, 169	John	
8:36	I. 173	3:8	I. 289
9:44	I. 177	4:10	I. 279
9:46	I. 177	4:14	I. 279
9:48	I. 177, 195	7:53-8:11	II. 105
10:38-39	II. 115	10:7	I. 293
11:17	I. 187	10:9	I. 293
12:30	I. 169	16:28	I. 249
12:30-31	I. 417	19:31	I. 377
13:22	I. 443	Acts	
13:35	I. 441	1:18	II. 105

INDEX

2:24	I. 335	2 Corinthians	
4:32	I. 425	2:9	I. 99
10:42	I. 165, 335	4:14	I. 335
13:22	I. 71	5:10	I. 343
14:15	II. 137	8:21	I. 341
20:35	I. 37	10:17	I. 57
21:14	I. 375	Galatians	
Romans		4:26	I. 337
4:3	I. 53	4:27	I. 167
4:7-9	I. 127	6:7	I. 339
8:5	I. 227	6:14	I. 279
8:8	I. 227	Ephesians	
13:1	I. 381	2:5	I. 335
14:10	I. 343	2:8-9	I. 335
14:12	I. 343	4:2	I. 311
1 Corinthians		4:4-6	I. 121
1:12	I. 123	4:18	I. 197
1:20	I. 237	4:26	I. 346
1:23	I. 237	5:25	I. 315
1:31	I. 57	5:29	I. 315
2:9	I. 183, 371	6:11-17	I. 317
2:10	I. 289	6:18	I. 351
3:1-2	I. 261	Philippians	
3:16	I. 235	2:4	I. 369
4:4	I. 277	2:10	I. 335
6:2	I. 347	2:16	I. 345
6:9	I. 235, 341	3:15	I. 307
6:9-10	I. 287	3:21	I. 335
8:1	II. 159	Colossians	
9:27	I. 267	1:16	I. 261
12:21	I. 111	1 Thessalonians	
13:4-7	I. 125	3:13	I. 443
14:25	I. 339	4:16	I. 443
15:8-9	I. 281	5:22	I. 347
15:20	I. 81	2 Thessalonians	
15:28	I. 335	2:24	I. 271
15:36ff.	I. 83	1 Timothy	
15:52	I. 443	1:17	I. 199
16:22	I. 433	3:5	I. 347

INDEX

[illegible]